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779 family. Babies lacking in merit died at their birth, just as mothers whose merit had run low suffered or died in childbirth.

84 A soul desiring rebirth flew into the womb of a woman at
[775] conception. By care and imitative magical practices, both
[774] parents helped the fetus grow but the mother gave the baby its
[789] body. Parturition was a joint effort of mother and child, the course and outcome of which was determined by their respective stores of merit. After delivery the child was blessed, his soul seized and tied in, and ritual means taken that he not wander from home throughout life. A post-partum rest of
846 several days was taken beside a hot fire, the purpose of which
392 was both physiological, i.e. to dry the uterus, and ritual, to bring about full "ripe" adulthood.

The fire, which was consecrated, strengthened a woman and made her a better nourisher, mature, more compassionate, and eligible to handle magic and the tender souls of living creatures. Thus she was fitted for her life-calling as a woman.
793 The comparable ceremony of maturation for men, when they too were changed from "raw" to mature, compassionate, and strong
789 males for their calling of fatherhood and leadership, was
562 ordination into the Buddhist priesthood. Only those men and women who had undergone their respective rites of maturation were eligible to handle magic. Men's magic gave power, control and could be aggressive. Women's magic was limited to
[688] nurturing purposes, and could never be destructive. The respective areas of magical competence and right were autonomous and rigidly separated on pain of severe sanctions.

844 This view of the role of women in life and the events of childbirth in the earthly and cosmic scene, had the effect of giving women in childbirth a positive, secure, and relaxed outlook, and an understanding and acceptance of suffering so that they had little fear.

[128] How careers in midwifery, whether professional or amateur were established, and the nature of the specialty and of a practice are discussed.

128 The understanding of, and the attitudes toward, modern
844 medicine are given along with findings accounting for
846 acceptance or rejection of modern hospital care for parturients. Accepting the changes that were observed in the practices
369 surrounding childbirth proved to be a means of expressing partial withdrawal from the old life of a farmer and a step
178 towards the glitter of urban ways. In the desire to be seen as progressive, the fire rest had been shortened, market products substituted for the consecrated fire, and other urban ways introduced.

000 For persons interested in introducing changes in the

361 Most of the dwellings in Bang Chan flanked the canals that stretched away from the temple area. All houses were in sight of one or more other houses, if not standing side by side. Here and there they formed small hamlets where kinsmen tended 351 to live in proximity. Around the houses were kitchen gardens and threshing floors, and behind them, the fields. Bananas grew 245 abundantly; pineapples, mangoes, and other fruits occasionally. The canals were full of water-vegetables, cultivated or wild, 241 while fish were plentiful. Water sources were the rain, kept 226 in large jars; artificial ponds dug near the houses and fed from ground water; and the canals. No wells existed. The large 312 tile roofs of the temple collected a good deal of rain-water which was available to anyone during the hot season when all water ran low.

General Nutritional Level

146 The population was physically well-formed with few physical [142] deformities evident. There was little obesity or emaciation. The daily diet (cf. Hauck, et al.:passim) consisted of large quantities of rice, with small amounts of fish, meat, vegetables, fruits, spices, and eggs. Food at the not-infrequent festivals [292] was rich in meat, eggs, and sugar. No milk was available except canned imports, and little was used. "Nevertheless, though caloric deficiency ('hollow hunger') was not prominent, over half of a sample of the population inspected medically had one or more signs of malnutrition. Even in a group chosen for research reasons for apparently good nutrition, about one in four had some such sign and in another group, selected for evidence of poor nutrition, two out of three persons had such."[2] The nutritional level in Bang Chan did not always correlate absolutely with economic level, for nutritionally one of the poorest families was found to be one of the best fed because the father did so much fishing and collecting of green canal vegetables. The [178] change-over, some decades ago, from home pounding of rice to [256] steam milling by most families had probably been a major factor in increasing nutritional deficiencies throughout the community.

2. Dr. H.M. Hauck, personal communication, 1959.

close touch with each other's activities and needs.

These residence arrangements had considerable bearing on the amount of help at hand for a pregnant, parturient, or lactating woman, especially since every woman expected to bear her child at home. A woman's first child was often born while she was still resident in the house of her parents or parents-in-law. If the separate household had been set up, and especially if there were other small children, a parturient's mother or other relative came to stay with her for delivery and post-delivery care, or a woman might return to her parental or her husband's home for the event. In fact, since husbands and wives were both needed in the fields, it took great diligence for a woman, without extra kinfolk in the house, to carry on child-care, cooking, and field-work, and then undergo child-bearing besides. The extensive overlap in the division of labor (Sharp et al. 1953:94-98), though, resulted in much sharing by husbands in the household chores, so that the burdens were somewhat eased. Help in child-birth was one of the areas of mutual aid freely accorded by neighbors, so all women could count on adequate or even ample help at this time.

Wealth Differences:

Way of Life

Real polarities of wealth existed. A well-to-do person owned rice fields, a good house, and had many devoted kinsmen. Teachers who were governmental civil servants and a few of the traders were somewhat better off because they had regular sources of cash. A poor man, owning no land, lived humbly and hired out at day labor and other odd jobs. Yet the way of life of the well-to-do was not very different from that of the poor. Practically all persons worked in the fields or at related activities, wore the same cotton clothes, and ate the same food. Rice was plentiful. Fish, fruit, vegetables, and fuel could be amply obtained practically without cost, though it was also possible to spend money on these. Yet here and there persons were beginning to lose their old satisfaction in life as a farmer. Changes were beginning to come in, heralded by such things as hair permanently waved, gasoline pressure-lamps, increased geographical and political awareness, grumbling over the cost of living, and frustration over rising expectations. Urban life as met with in Bangkok was viewed with some awe as a glittering universe with different ideas and needs, yet also with some uneasiness. The city dwellers sometimes looked down on the country dwellers and made them feel uncomfortable.

before completing these obligations, the parents lost out on their anticipated reward (cf. L.M. Hanks, 1962).

Since waywardness (pai thiaw) was considered a continuous threat, magical means were taken at the moment of birth to ensure that a child stay close to the family that raised him. The blessing following the winnowing ceremony invoked immovable things: the post, the cat that traditionally never roamed far, the pumpkin that sat and fattened:

> "...Stay at home like the bottom of the house post. Watch the house like a cat. Eat and stay here! Never leave home. Be fat and heavy as the ash pumpkin..."

The most important binding actions utilized, or brought the child into physical contact with, objects long associated with family, in particular the house and land. The umbilical cord was cut on earth or phlai dug from the house-land itself with a bamboo "knife" sliced from one of the deeply sunk house posts. Of these "the knife is the important thing." The phlai also had medicinal purposes. With a feather "from the mother's house" the baby's navel was smeared with cobwebs from a spider whose web indicated long undisturbed residence. They buried the placenta either under some large old tree that stood near the house, or under the house stair. The old family winnowing tray, old clothes, and well-used family possessions were used first before any new furnishings were purchased for the baby. A fire of sakae wood grown on premises boiled the water for the baby and mother, and heated the mother. Sakae "was planted when a house was first built so that every generation of occupants would have it available for use at confinement" and also for firewood at other times (cf. McF. 834). All these binding rites assured that the child being rooted to a home terrain, would not wander frightened, and so "would not cry." He also would be at home to participate in the merit-making that would reconstitute the family in another existence.

If a child were born away from home, how was this bond to his locality established? On one to two occasions when the child was born at the Minburi Health Center, Hauck (notes, 1954) observed a solution to this dilemma. The mothers returned home, as was customary, within a few hours of delivery and were established by their respective fires. Their babies were winnowed and laid on their trays with the usual auspicious book, pencil, and needle. Neither tray held any bamboo, clod, nor phlai, however, for these had not been used. On one tray, though, was laid a steel knife from the kitchen, mute proof that a family cutting instrument ought to be there. On another occasion, a father asked to be given his child's placenta so as to bury it on the house site. In so far as possible, people in Bang Chan tried to carry on the old rites.

Chapter VII

ATTITUDES TOWARD MODERN MEDICINE AND MIDWIFERY

Modern and traditional medicine appeared to Bang Chan to have much in common. Both subscribed to a belief in disruptive intrusions. In typhoid and cholera, the old scheme postulated intrusions of fire and earth. Boils involved a spirit attack or excess of fire. For these same disorders, new medicine spoke instead of virus or bacterial infection. Such concepts as nutritional deficiencies, insect transmission, and pollution, however, were alien to the old views as disease agents.

Modern medicines paralleled the old decoctions. Antibiotics, ointments, or pain-pills were appreciated for their efficacy, but evoked no surprise, for every plant in the world was said to have some therapeutic value. Injections were similar to the sub-cutaneous magical protective needle.

"Old" medicine did not feel threatened because people were not convinced that the modern was better. The 2 systems were viewed as different, each having its own specialties. The difference was sometimes phrased as "Old medicine cares for old ailments; modern medicine for new ones." Spirit possession and khun attack, for instance, were old ailments; poliomyelitis, gonorrhea, and maybe diphtheria, new (J.R. Hanks, 1951:151-191). It was sometimes better not to claim competence outside these customary lines. One MD said he could cure gonorrhea, but the young men preferred a city doctor. Sometimes, though, one could not be sure what was a new disease.

Another phrasing of the proper place for modern medicine was that because of varying "habit," differing social stations required differing medical techniques. "Modern medicine is only good for delicate city people or other kinds of farmers, but does not give enough strength for rice-farmers." The orchardists below Bangkok who "had the habit of eating a lot of fruit," and the teachers and traders of Bang Chan (who went to the second class practitioners, and occasionally to modern doctors) were assumed to have different physical needs than farmers. The post-partum fire was clung to as strength-making: "woman are weak if no fire." The hot ashes chamber, introduced from Bangkok, was for the most part used by non-farm women.

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An old woman summed up significantly 2 attitudes saying, "In the old days people made more merit and so lived longer, but because we had no hospitals, the children died younger." The relation of good health and longevity to proper religious and moral behavior was fundamental in Bang Chan. If merit did not suffice, medical attention, traditional or modern, could not prolong life. Children, however, were tender (อ่อน) and easily prey to sickness.

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Traditional care could help them, but being delicate and tender like city people, children could also be helped by modern hospital care.

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Between the 2 systems people sensed little conflict, for each patient made a preliminary diagnosis of his symptoms and sought the type of assistance his diagnosis and convenience indicated. Men with some knowledge of both systems might offer their patients a choice of remedy. With the right diagnosis, magic, and medicines, a quick cure was expected. If not forth-coming, people were disappointed and moved to another specialist for his help. Modern medicine merely took its place as one more recourse.

The basic handicap of modern medicine was that it had no magical resources or holy water. "Its effectiveness is limited to the properties of the ingredients." Old medicine on the other hand had, in addition to these properties, "The strength of the หมอ's incantation plus the power of every person who learned and used that incantation, back to the time of its discovery, centuries ago." Thus where the medical schemes offered the same specialty, as in fevers, bone-setting, or obstetrics, the old appeared to offer more resources.

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Besides its deficiencies in magic and strength-making attributes, modern medical care had other drawbacks. First, it was not accessible. A trip to Bangkok for medical purposes involved far more time than a day. Minburi's Health Center was a feasible trip, even for a woman in labor (stays ranged from 6 to 24 hours). Home arrangements for tending children, feeding buffalo, and other chores were less demanding. Bang Chan's eagerness for local modern care was shown when a Bangkok physician visited Bang Chan for a few times as part of a nutrition study. He was besieged with private requests for medical advice. Secondly, modern medical care was expensive. In Bangkok, after the expense of getting there, taxis, food, and housing costs for accompanying relatives, hospital, and doctor's fees sometimes meant losing the family gold and even land. Minburi's costs were closer geared to farm income, but medicines appeared costly. "Modern drugs taste and act better, but the poor have to use the old." Third,

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to make use of modern facilities one suffered confusing and unhappy experiences. Bangkok traffic was dizzying, even if one knew just where to go. Hospitals had beds, not mats, and the personnel were strangers. Foods were often unfamiliar or violated traditional injunctions concerning heating and cooling. People were brusque, impersonal, and overbearing to country people. One woman complained, "I am afraid of the doctor there. She scolds me and does not treat me like city people. She will not explain what the sickness is." Minburi's clinic was small, set up in more familiar terms, and the staff known personally to many villagers.

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Finally, there was the problem of finding an experienced escort, i.e. someone who "knew the way." More was involved than just convenience. In all walks of Bang Chan's life, no one ever presented himself to a school, to a household, anywhere, without a personal introduction from someone who had been there before, and so was accustomed (khoei) to it. It was not hard to find someone who had been to the Minburi Health Center, but it was difficult to find one who had been to a hospital in Bangkok, knew what to do, and had the time, money, and inclination to act as escort. The latter was always a relative by blood or marriage or the sick person's ex himself (Hanks and Hanks, 1955: 160). Actually, five or ten persons might accompany an ill person, only one of which was acting as the recognised go-between. Many of those who had been to a hospital or clinic as patients had previously accompanied others merely as escort, or to visit (Goldsen and Relis 1955:31).

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Who had actually tried modern medicine for one reason or another? About a third of the household heads had used some modern clinic or hospital for treatment or hospitalization (Goldsen and Relis 1955:31). Use was more frequent among (1) the literate, (2) those exposed to the mass media of radio and movies, (3) those accepting certain urban ways, and (4) those having greater contacts with the city in the way of visits, but users were not of a noticeably higher economic level (ibid:37). Women went no more frequently than men (ibid:32). No figures indicated how many of these occasions were for childbirth, but our interviews point to a small number. Taking the will for the deed, two women teachers who appeared to be the first to plan ahead to be delivered at the Minburi Health Center--but who did not get there because labor was too quick--seemed to be showing the use of modern methods as a means to higher status.

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Why was modern obstetrics so largely eschewed? What had been Bang Chan's experience, unfavorable or favorable, that colored their attitudes? First, home was the most convenient place for care. Bangkok was ruled out categorically as too far. In fact, Minburi might be too far if labor manifested its normal celerity as the case of the two teachers showed, or if complications had developed. Furthermore, a Chinese resident of Bang

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Chan during a period of residence in Bangkok was delivered at the Women's Hospital and at a later pregnancy at the Minburi Center. With her last baby, however, she elected to be delivered at home by the local midwife as more convenient in order to assure from her bed supervision and proper care for her other children. One young woman of very high social and economic standing preferred to import a midwife from a community six kilometers down the canal, and bear her child in her own home rather than attempt getting to a hospital.

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Moreover, basically the Minburi Health Center was seen as a place for sick people, while normal childbirth was not a medical matter. To plan ahead for medical care there was to invite an abnormal delivery. The Center also suffered a poor reputation for success because difficult cases, hopelessly advanced, were the usual ones brought in. "At the Center are many ghosts," people said.

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Some comments were genuinely favorable. The cleanliness of the hospital was greatly appreciated. Anyone who witnessed the skill of the doctor or nurse-midwife held it in respect.

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Techniques of delivery were sometimes mistrusted, sometimes admired. "They pull out the child with their hands, which is dangerous." "The fecal pump is unnecessary." "One may not crawl during labor." A mo-midwife who witnessed the nurse-midwife at work said approvingly, "She can force a baby out, but our midwives can only press harder," and "The hospital knows when a baby will come." The stopping of the flow of birth fluids by an injection was resented as affecting strength adversely, yet the injection that "made the placenta come so fast I couldn't notice it," or "gave the mother strength when the baby was stronger than she" was liked. The pills for pain were enthusiastically received. The hospital's closed windows "protected the baby from wind element," but the journey home dangerously exposed it and the mother to cooling wind. The dietary recommendations during recovery appeared wrong: eggs, which were "too cooling," or fruit, which "gave no strength." The suggestion of a nurse that scissors be used to cut the cord was resented as uncomprehending of village living problems ("we haven't any!" and "scissors always rust") and also as unwise ("rust gives tetanus poisoning").

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Another criticism was the lack of personal warmth and pity manifested by modern physicians and nurses, unlike the attentive, reassuring mo. By forbidding abdomen-pressing, they were accused of "not doing enough," even of

"not wanting to help." The mother and baby were seen as having to fend for themselves. The very confidence built up in modern medications led to a conviction that doctors maliciously withheld available, effective medicines. "She died at the Center because she needed medicine but was not given any." Personality factors sometimes were involved: one doctor was considered incompetent, fearful of complicated obstetrical cases, and brutally indifferent to a countryman's views and circumstances--("Since we have no room, why don't you charter a bus to take your parturient wife to Bangkok?"), whereas another was friendly and wise. Since doctors were part of the respected government hierarchy which enjoyed superior knowledge and status, and also of the supposedly compassionate medical tradition, they were expected to be competent, kind, and protecting. Those who failed in winning confidence undermined the status of modern medicine.

The midwives themselves thought of the Mīnburī Center not only as a recourse if a case were in deep trouble, but also as a personal convenience. One male midwife, who was also a headman, mō and carpenter-contractor, was often too busy to stay with a woman in prolonged labor. To turn her over to another midwife other than a kinsman would damage his reputation. Knowing Mīnburī well, he found the Center a convenient solution to his dilemma. He had respect for the nurse-mid wife's skills, which he had witnessed, and regarded the doctor as a colleague on his own level, a view probably not reciprocated. The women midwives, too, always considering themselves at bottom volunteers, when faced with pressing home chores and the "impossibility of turning a relative over to another midwife," utilized the impartial service of the nurse-midwife. One cloud impeded the female midwives from making full use of the occasion as an opportunity for observation and so instruction. They refused to identify themselves as midwives out of fear of legal sanctions. Having neither taken the course prescribed by the government for "ancient" midwives nor paid the fee, they were not licensed. Thus, they lived in dread of fines if their calling became known outside the community. They knew they were permitted to deliver babies within the family, but outside those rather hazy boundaries, they took refuge in an old view, "I am not a midwife. I only help out of pity."

All in all, the people of Bang Chan had fitted modern medicine into their broad medical scheme where it could be accepted on its merits, if not blocked off by inconvenience, high cost, and discourtesy.

Chapter VIII

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CHANGES

In studying change in the customs surrounding childbirth in Bang Chan, we have D.B. Bradley's description of birth in Bankok in 1865 as a base-line on which to project our findings. Since most of the population of Bang Chan (Thai, with a few Laotians, Mon, Muslims, and Chinese) stems from Bangkok, we may reasonably assume that the parallels derive from a true historical connection. Bradley's description fitted Bang Chan as if written today:

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> "Siamese theory in regard to the part which external and internal fire plays in the functions of life and health is made to work powerfully...There is, at such times, a diminution of heat in the body, and consequent liability to stagnation of the blood, which, if not guarded against by fire, will leave the uterus flabby and enlarged, bad humors in circulation, a consequent weak state of the stomach, resulting in the secretion of too little milk, and that of a bad quality for the child, all of which will be likely to be followed by a host of other fearful maladies to both mother and child...[Thus a woman lies by the fire]... exposing all parts of her body, and more particularly her abdomen, to that drying process, so that the uterus shall be forced to shrink up quickly to its normal dimensions, and the sanguineous streams which had been diverted to support the child before birth, shall, by fire, be driven backward to their more usual limitations, all which is...a sine qua non to a sound constitution and good health in the future..." (Bangkok Calendar, 1865:78-84).

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Bradley showed that some behavior one might call "change" today was a recognized alternative in 1865. For instance, in Bang Chan a few women "are made too unhappy (klum) by the fire so cannot use it. They should take extra amounts of pickled medicine" (yá dong). Bradley wrote, "a few delicate females...who cannot endure [this] usual treatment, are compelled, against all their ...fears of the consequences, and all the importunities of their

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friends to say positively that they cannot and will not endure it. For such, some other course has to be taken by the use of ...medicines" (p. 81).[74]

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The most noticeable modification in the customs of childbirth was the shortened fire-rest which had shifted from 29 or so days, to 9 to 15 or less; this was practiced by everyone.[75] Another conspicuous change adopted by a few dozen persons was the substitution for the open fire of a heat-making contrivance, in particular the hot-ashes or charcoal burning container (chamber or fire-box: fai chut) and the hot water bottle. (The hot brick and wrapped pot of hot salt were probably old alternatives.) New, of course, were the occasional utilization of the Minburi Health Center; the second class doctors; and, somewhat more generally, the novelties of the market, such as flowered net-frames, mits, shirts, pillowcases, and pacifiers. There were a few other changes noted.

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Who took up the innovations? First, they were women who had already successfully borne a child, undergone a full fire-rest, and were bearing their second or later children. Being already ritually mature (suk) and of proven competence in childbearing, they had no reason to fear a change and nothing to lose. Age and experience gave them the self-confidence, authority, and interest to ponder their experience and decide on ways to increase their effectiveness and their comfort. They had the right to do so because of the fundamental autonomy of the individual. Strong-minded old ladies might criticise the substitution of the hot-ashes container for the fire, feeling it was not hot enough to do the job, but they never questioned the woman's right to do so. The least likely to adopt

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74. On the other hand, Bradley (pp. 82-83) was puzzled why his success in saving the life of so revered a personage as the Queen by taking her off the fire, a move so thoroughly approved by the King, did not cause universal abandonment of the fire-rest. He was not aware that many a mɔ̌ did the same (with the possible exception of the sponging with tepid water), that as a mɔ̌-with-a-particular-specialty he could do anything he wanted but no one would copy it without personal formal authorization, and that he was up against the deeply-rooted rite of female maturation concerning which even royalty had no authority (Bangkok Calendar, 1871:107-109).

75. We have no data on whether this shortening process set in in the 1930's, or after World War II in the late 1940's. The month-long rest was universal in the 1930's.

178 184 312 846 885 a new way was a woman bearing her first child because she was not yet ritually matured. This she wanted to be. Moreover, her self-interest led her to try to profit as much as possible from the experience of elders by first following the old way. By incorporating the experience of successful child-bearers into her own and the baby's life and by asking them to initiate actions auspiciously, she augmented by that much her own competence, and laid the groundwork for her future progress. Self-responsibility engendered respect for elders. Thus there was no split between old and young over innovations. Experience gave grounds both for conservatism and for changing, but at different age levels.

178 184 556 Secondly, changes were adopted by the rich who, spending their money rather conspicuously, sought to maintain and enhance their social position. Their wealth and position were in themselves unquestioned as signs of merit earned in another incarnation.

178 554 The changes being introduced to Bang Chan were of two kinds: first the prestigeful, and second, those giving no increment of esteem, i.e. idiosyncratic changes of taste or convenience; or those reflecting individual circumstances. The prestigeful innovations were oriented towards the use of market novelties, modern medical care, urban standards of cleanliness and beauty, and other ways termed "progressive" associated with the city of Bangkok, cynosure of the eyes of the rich. These values were leading certain families away from their original occupation of farming, into the fields of teaching, trading, carpentering, cottage-industry, etc. Since these new occupations brought in steady cash and large land holders, too, had a good income, an association was found of wealth, prestige, urban interests, and innovation. Com- 372 846 178 ment on the hot ashes container (fai chut) indicated that it was a strong symbol of prestige and progress. To use it was "to get away from ignorance and the old way of doing things." It was "cleaner, not hot or ugly, and more convenient." One teacher took it up after reading an advertisement in the newspapers that described glowingly its more efficient healing effect. On the other hand, one woman abandoned the fai chut because "it was not hot enough to rid her of stiff muscles," so she went back to the use of the fire. "It is all right for rich Bangkok ladies who want to avoid a scar, but it does not give 177 178 278 854 enough strength for a farmer." She had no urban pretensions. Also in this prestigeful aggregate, observed here and there, were the market novelties mentioned above: bed, mat, and mosquito net instead of the plank-bed; kits of medicine from the Chinese pharmacist instead of the old

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home brew; rub-on medicine (yā chup) instead of a fire or fire-container; canned cows' milk, and nursing bottles for the baby, and the bottles washed with salt; the transfer of a baby from the tray to the cloth cradle before the termination of the fire-rest because "he needed fresh air;" and the rejection of the turmeric rub against the wind element as "dirty and ugly."

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To use modern medical care was becoming prestigeful. Most spectacular here was a case of a prosperous and educated man who had had 9 children, then "feared he could not feed them all," so underwent voluntarily a vasectomy. Patronage of the second class doctors who used modern medications but explained them in traditional terms was frequent among the well-to-do. The Minburī Health Center, a resource in case of over-long and difficult labor, was beginning to be seen as a fashionable place to go for medical care and parturition. The case of the 2 teachers who laid plans ahead to go to the Center (but their quick labor precluded attempting to get there) showed that prestige had a stronger lure than convenience at times. It was much more convenient to bear a child at home, yet one of these teachers even talked about wanting to be delivered in Bangkok at the Woman's Hospital, an extreme of prestige and practical inaccessibility.

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The drive toward progressiveness led to conscious re-examining of those "old ways" that could be visually tested. One woman said, "There are fewer spirits (phī) nowadays." There was the mother who pondered the maxim about burning up all the wood collected by the husband to make a child finish tasks when he grew up. Finding it not true, she abandoned it at her next confinement. A man said that the old belief that papaya should not be planted near the house because "it dies easily and doesn't like water," and so would affect a child, was "unreasonable because the harm was not specific [e.g. a threat to skin or eyes]. If specific, I might believe it." An opening wedge of disbelief was noted where a woman gave no bit of rice to her baby to start a habit for later benefits because "she was told but didn't believe it," and another who said the "winnowing rite was not important."

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In addition to prestigeful changes were those due to individual circumstance, taste or preference, and convenience unaffected by social aspirations. One woman rejected going to the Minburī Center for delivery and took up the hot-ashes container instead of a fire because she could better direct her older children, and "it was less hard on them." A poor woman took no medicine during pregnancy because she had no money to buy it. A comment that of recent years medicines were purchased because "women are too lazy to make them up" as in the old days, sounded more personal than socially significant. A change induced by lack of money was that "hot spices

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are less eaten today because they are too expensive."

A slight trend towards depersonalization might be part of the aping of urban behavior, or idiosyncratic, or of more general significance.[76] The Minburi Health Center may have been used to avoid certain face-to-face situations. A woman whose labor was prolonged was taken there by her (male) midwife who had to get to a meeting. He preferred the impartiality of the Center to turning her over to another midwife. A woman took up the hot ashes container so "others would not have to wait on her." Another appeared to have obtained a midwife from outside the community rather than seek out someone inside and closer at hand. A very poor woman used no boiled water because of inadequate help in the household to prepare it. Whatever the circumstances of her social isolation, ordinarily kin or neighbors would have seen to it that this job was done. This episode too was watched by neighbors who commented that since her health remained good, boiling might be unnecessary. Finally, to advertise certain medicines, a firm handed out YAB, the magically inscribed cloth, to suspend on the holy cord that surrounded the mother. This was a long way from the personally inscribed "yan" of old.

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A final reason for the acceptance of change was the larger number of choices of behavior because of a broader horizon. Bang Chan had never been an isolated community, for pilgrimages and visiting through easy boat-travel had been for decades part of its life. Yet the growing number of literates, the establishment of bus and other transportation services to the city, the experience, for a few, of work in Bangkok or of military service in Korea, the continuous association with non-Thai, (Chinese, Muslims, a Cambodian, and now the Americans), and the now somewhat diversified economy of the community all led to the increased familiarity with other ways of doing things. Patterns of childbirth were already reflecting this awareness.

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Unchanging in the scene at childbirth was the necessity of supernatural assistance, and heat to ripen and restore the mother.

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76. I feel this evidence is slight, and set it down merely as a point for future observation.

1: Hanks E-5 (1953-1954) 1964 AOT Central Thai AQ7

Chapter IX

GUIDES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF CHANGES

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The government of Thailand provides in Bangkok and in other centers of the country up-to-date facilities for training in modern midwifery. It has also created in some places special opportunities for the traditional midwives to upgrade their skills. One of the objectives of the Minburi Health Center was to carry on a certain amount of instruction in modern views. For reasons that have been explained, no one in Bang Chan ever had or even sought modern instruction. The midwives of whom we have spoken grew up entirely in the folk tradition.

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On the basis of the material presented at length in the previous pages, a few suggestions are here advanced which may be of help to these public programs in maternal and child health.

1. Build a program around the idea that it will help women in their age-old role of caring for, raising, and nourishing (lliang) children. Emphasize that through new techniques they may increase their strength and care better for themselves and the babies.

2. Change existing practices as little as possible.

3. When a change is offered, ask that the midwife, mother, or whoever observed it watch for certain results which allow them to judge it in relation to the old. The idea is strong that aspects of the natural world can be analyzed and considered pragmatically, then legitimately utilized as a basis for modifying customary behavior.

4. Pay special attention to the places where the old and the new come into conflict and seek ways to resolve these conflicts.

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As an example, let us consider these points in relation to cutting the umbilical cord. Modern instruction recommends the use of scissors--neat, sterilizable, handy--to avoid infection while cutting the cord. People in Bang Chan wish to avoid this infection, too, but for them scissors are unsatisfactory for several reasons: they are scarce, they rust--and

844 178 122 412

this rust is believed to cause tetanus--and they are unsuitable for the ritual objective at the moment of cutting. It will be remembered that cutting the cord on a rhizome of phlai or soil with a bamboo sliver from the housepost guarantees that a child will not roam away from home. Could the bamboo sliver be dipped in "heating" alcohol, or passed over the flame of a holy fire? Could the old family kitchen-knife--long associated with the household--be substituted and dipped in the beneficial heat of boiling water? Such a knife once was substituted on the winnowing tray. Might the phlai or soil be covered with a boiled, clean, old cloth? If modern science succeeds in coming up with an acceptable substitute, one sees the possibility of a very small change making a big difference in the amount of tetanus poisoning observed (Hauck, 1956:41). One should then ask the midwives to watch as to whether the new method reduced the infection called "death because of a red or green face and clenched fists."

262 [261]

In diet "the concept that a good choice of food is important to the health of both mother and child" (Hauck, 1959:2) was very much shared by modern science and by traditional ideas but the basis of choice was entirely different.[77] Modern science has ascertained that certain foods are beneficial because of certain nutrients, while old beliefs have set up certain foods as desirable because of properties of heating, cooling, compatibilities with the elements, etc. The nature of these properties should be collected and listed. If dietary deficiencies in Bang Chan are noted, the foods that combine the needed beneficial qualities in both systems should be stressed. A hot-tasting tonic (yā) with appropriate dietary supplements, to be taken daily during pregnancy, and another kind during the post-partum period, might be acceptable. The period of the fire-rest is the best place to initiate dietary changes for whatever is done by the fire becomes a habit beneficial to mother and child. The use of boiled water should be encouraged as "making for [illegible]th." Again, disturbance of customs is minimized, and the presence or absence of "increased strength" and healthiness can be observed experientially.

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77. Hauck felt the concept was lacking, but it appears only that the grounds of choice were different.

2: Hauck et al. D,E-5 (1952-1954) 1958 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

SUMMARY

A general description is given of conditions in a 105 Siamese rice village, 1952-54, as they relate to food supply 26 and food habits. Activities at various seasons of the year [220] are described. The heavy work seasons occurred during transplanting and harvest. In the dry season, many ceremonials and festivals were held in which food played an important role. Such occasions provided opportunity to "make merit" and add to one's prestige as did the regular offering of food to the priests, throughout the year. The relatively large financial obligations undertaken by those sponsoring ceremonies was a major factor in the economy of the village.

105 262 433 Food was mostly home produced and an important factor in the standard of living was the number of productive hands available. Rice was the first essential for any meal. Home milled rice was used, even in part, only by a minority of households. Fish, fresh or preserved, was the food next in importance to rice. Use of flesh foods other than fish was probably inhibited by Buddhist tenets which prohibit the taking of life, but some poultry, oxen, and other flesh foods [230] were used. Nearly all of the families in Bang Chan raised [233] chickens, and some raised ducks, but about 3/5 of all eggs [244] produced were sold. Every family had some sort of kitchen [245] garden, including banana trees and other plants, but spices [227] and chili were much more commonly grown than vegetables and fruit. Swamp cabbage, the green leafy vegetable used most often, grew wild in the canals. A calendar of fresh foods commonly used in Bang Chan is presented.

[443] Cash expenditures for food were small. When canals were navigable, boat venders brought produce and during the busy work seasons farmers often bought fish as well as the usual foods: onions, garlic, limes, cocomut, palm sugar and small amounts of vegetables.

[434] Many households increased their income by the sale of eggs, vegetables gathered from the canal and other items. [178] Culture of tilapia and mushrooms, begun during the period of study, was undertaken by a considerable number of farmers between 1953 and 1955. Both enterprises were apparently regarded primarily as a supplementary source of cash rather than as a means of improving the home food supply, and both efforts had been largely if not entirely abandoned by 1957.

105 264 Preparation of some typical dishes, meal service and techniques of eating are described. For adults, two meals a day were usual, except during the busy work seasons when a third meal might be eaten. Menus were similar for all. Two observations from records of school children were 1) that over 90% of them ate snacks, many of which were bought from venders on the school grounds, 2) sweets and fruit were the

better nutrition for all family members or whether to concentrate on the feeding of children or other vulnerable groups, the values of the society should be considered. The importance of a suitable variety of food for health needs to be taught to adults as well as children in Bang Chan. The concept that good choice of food is important in pregnancy and lactation and for the health and growth of children seemed to be entirely absent. Since few believed certain foods to be harmful at these times, however, teaching how to choose foods for health should be easier in Bang Chan than it is in areas where positive taboos are common.

Behavior different from the traditional one may sometimes lead the way to changed practices among those who observe or hear about it. For this reason, in certain instances an informant who had ventured to deviate from the traditional practice has been identified in this record. Thus, we noted that in a number of ways the women school teachers and the wife of a man teacher deviated from the traditional behavior in Bang Chan. For example, a school teacher's wife used the hot ashes chamber after her fifth child rather than lying by the fire. She was one of two women informants who "ate all kinds of food" at this time when most women in the community restricted their diets very markedly. She did not consider taking the baby out into the sunshine harmful; indeed, she believed it would make the child stronger. This same mother was 1 of 4 in our series who had taken the baby to be vaccinated against smallpox. She and three women school teachers were among those who continued to give their babies boiled water to drink much longer than was customary in Bang Chan. The one person who suggested a specific food (eggs) as being good for a woman to eat during pregnancy was a school teacher. The two women who planned to go to the Minburi Health Center for delivery were school teachers. For lack of time after labor began they did not carry out their plans; but the fact that they intended to do, by choice, what was usually the last resort when labor proved long or difficult, may be significant.

Along with these departures from traditional ways and acceptance of some "modern" practices, the same persons might cling to other sorts of traditional behavior. The wife of a school teacher for example, though she thought that taking the baby into the sunshine might be favorable rather than harmful, said that if the baby were to be out very long she would cover its head with a beret to avoid bringing "cold" into the baby. This same mother took her child to the Minburi Health Center for treatment for a skin infection, but when the condition did not clear up immediately after modern therapy was begun, she took the child to a traditional doctor who prepared a decoction of herbs with which she treated the baby.

The behavior of respected persons, such as some of the school teachers, should be influential in helping to bring about

desirable changes in Bang Chan. An important point, however, is that leaders should understand, insofar as possible, the reasons behind the "modern" ways and not accept them merely because they are considered modern. Without adequate understanding traditional behavior which has served a useful purpose in protecting the people's health might be abandoned, or a half-understood "modern" way substituted to their hazard. For example, a popular traditional midwife said she knew that water was not boiled for mothers and babies in the hospitals in Bangkok, and the wife of a school teacher said she did not think use of boiled water was really necessary during (2)juu (1)faj. Traditionally, heat has been considered beneficial at this time. If this idea were extended to include an understanding of the value of boiling water to destroy harmful microorganisms and parasites, the traditional practice might be confirmed and even extended for the protection of other family members. If a sanitary water supply eventually becomes available in Bang Chan[1], precautions required to keep it so might be thought of as analogous to boiling of water; or chemical purification might be understood by the peasant as a modern way of conferring on water the virtues which boiling conferred when the "old way" was followed. Improvement in health and nutrition in Bang Chan must, of course, be seen as a long-time goal dependent on continuing education.

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[312] 1. In 1952-54 there were no wells in the area, and the problem of planning for a sanitary water supply when the plain is flooded for a part of each year is not an easy one.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

Houses in the village vary considerably in appearance: from the bamboo and thatch dwellings of the poorest families to the sturdy, great gabled houses of teak built by Bang Chan's original settlers to the tiled and corrugated iron-roofed homes of the newly rich. Most, however, follow the traditional Siamese pattern of being built on posts two to ten feet off the ground, mainly as a protection against flood waters. Many homes in Bang Chan give the impression of being permanently unfinished, the bamboo houses because they require constant refurbishment, the wooden dwellings because they are made of teak which seasons best when left untreated and exposed directly to the elements. The merging upper-class urban pattern of painting teakwood has not yet reached Bang Chan.

The major thoroughfare of the community, bisecting it in a north-south direction and perpendicular to the Bangkok-Minburi highway, is Khlɔɔŋ (or Canal) Bang Chan, which links with Khlɔɔŋ Sɛɛn Sɛɛb three kilometers south of the village. The latter, dug in the 1840's and originally intended as a military route to the Cambodian frontier, is one of several major canals dug during the mid-nineteenth century as part of the vast canal system that was constructed in the Central Plain when the region was opened for commercial rice production. Together with the highway built since World War II, a one-hour bus ride to the capital, Khlɔɔŋ Sɛɛn Sɛɛb, provides the villagers with their major access to Bangkok and the rest of the Central Plain. By motorboat a trip to Bangkok via this large, bustling canal takes approximately three hours.

Despite these relatively good communications facilities and the long-standing Thai peasant tradition to *paj thiaw* ("to go around"—for fun, on visits, pilgrimages, often for long distances) few people outside the immediate vicinity of the village have ever heard of Bang Chan. The community is neither a landmark nor is it located near one; it is not famed for any activities (other than having become the research site for the "American professors"); and because it is not a spatially integrated village, Bang Chan cannot even be found on any map of Thailand. Like most Thai settlements, Bang Chan has a Buddhist monastery and a government elementary school. It is these two structures that give the village its identity and the local people a sense of belonging to a community. People say that they live "at home in Bang Chan" because they make their merit at the monastery of Bang Chan and send their children to the Bang Chan school. Approximately five square miles in size and inhabited by 1,771 people living in 296 households (1956 village census), Bang Chan seems in physical appearance and social significance like the thousands of other communities that dot the rice fields of the great Central Plain.

To what extent Bang Chan may be considered "typical" in an analytic sense of other villages of the Mɛɛnaam Valley, or even of the country as a

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan
Thailand AO1

been religious in nature—getting the assistance of villagers to construct monks' cubicles or repairing the small rest pavilions near the monastery, the "pay" for which is Buddhist merit—or, if secular, infused with sacred attributes, such as when the head monk helped raise funds for the construction of the Bang Chan school by supporting the notion that villagers who gave money to the school would make merit. It is clear, however, that the organizational vigor of the Bang Chan monkhood is mainly a function of the aggressive personality and leadership of Bang Chan's particular abbot, and that with a more retiring, contemplative head monk—a not uncommon or undesirable role for an abbot—the situation would be strikingly different.

In a similar vein, it is difficult to link the incidence of land ownership and tenancy in Bang Chan with any consistent national or regional pattern. At the national level, Thailand is fortunate among predominantly peasant nations in having a comparatively low level of land tenancy, an estimated 80 percent of the cultivated land of the country being owned by the small, independent farmers who work it (National FAO Committee of Thailand 1949). However, within these broad, national parameters there is considerable inter- and intra-regional variation. Zimmerman's study in the early 1930's indicated that the number of peasants without land ranged from 14 percent in Southern Thailand, through 27 percent in the North, to 36 percent in the Central Plain. These regional figures seemed to have remained relatively constant through the years in that deYoung (1955) reports a tenancy figure of 27.7 percent for a village in the North which he studied in 1949, and Janlekha (1955) indicates a figure of 37 percent for Bang Chan, in the Central Plain, in 1953.[4] As close as the Bang Chan figure may seem to its regional average, however, it is of little significance when seen against the background of variability that exists within the region as a whole: for example, in villages near the city of Lopburi, only 12 percent of the villagers are landless, but in the Khlong Rangsit area, not far

[4] It should be noted, however, that other indices of economic well-being in Bang Chan have not remained constant. To the extent that his historical materials permit, Janlekha (1955) points out that land holdings have become increasingly smaller, the amount of time newly-married couples must live with one set of parents (in order to accumulate the capital necessary for setting up their own neolocal households) longer, and the price of land higher. Janlekha's data indicate that in the five-year period between 1948 and 1953 alone, the price of agricultural land, as contrasted with considerably more expensive residential land, in and around Bang Chan increased 560 percent!

It is also well to keep in mind Janlekha's observation that, depending upon familial circumstances such as number of children and availability and proximity of labor, a Bang Chan farmer who rents a large plot of land from a benevolent absentee landlord, who is often unfamiliar with Bang Chan crop values, may be considerably better off economically than a farmer who works a small plot of land that is all his own.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

"extended families." The aim of all Bang Chan families even then was to attain a position in which they would be free from such obligations or would have other families dependent upon them.

In the intervening years the influx of new families into Bang Chan, the increased self-sufficiency of the individual nuclear families and, most important, the increased acceptance of commercial values, have served to break down kindred groups so that today few kinsmen work their fields together and even fewer share their food or equipment with one another, beyond what has been noted above. Perhaps the only remaining *universally* practiced function of the old kindred groups is the celebration of ceremonials involving members of the family, particularly cremations and ordinations, the cost and merit of which are shared among the participants, depending upon their wealth. Very often people do not want to borrow from or lend money or equipment to kinsmen precisely because the intrusion of the kinship tie makes the collection of such debts doubly awkward ("relatives take twice as long in repaying money; I do not want to lend anything to them"). However, the old forms have not been completely obliterated and when necessity requires or personal convenience moves an individual to look to others, the traditions of extended kinship, as indicated earlier, may be invoked.

For purposes of conceptual convenience, two types of kindred may be specified: the kind referred to above which involves kinsmen living in the village and to which Kaufman (1960) gives the name "spatially extended family"; and the type descriptive of relatives living outside Bang Chan, dispersed throughout other villages and provinces or in Bangkok, and called by Kaufman "the remotely extended family" and by L. M. Hanks (1959c) "the multi-local extended family." These terms are of course generic labels descriptive of actual or potential relationships between individuals, not of specifically delimited groups. Sometimes Bang Chaners attempt to extend the definition of the latter type of relationship to individuals who have never heard of them, but who may be in a position to help their son obtain a job in the city or get him admitted into a vocational school. Hanks has shown how the multi-local extended family has to a limited extent in recent years rejuvenated extended kinship ties by becoming the major institutional mechanism through which villagers leave Bang Chan to seek their fortunes elsewhere. (This last phrase is not merely a figure of speech; many young Bang Chan men have what could be called almost a Dick Whittington view about leaving Bang Chan for Bangkok.) A cousin who undertakes to serve as a villager's liaison to a city job or who offers him a place to stay usually does so willingly, for it creates obligations which may be called upon later if need be.

The above description of variations and extensions has been presented

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[For information on the acceptance of innovations by the people of Bang Chan, see Category 116, pp. iv, 6-37 and 43.]

235 was slightly higher than that of chickens, averaging 155 eggs per laying duck.

178 231 Hogs: In 1949, two families were raising hogs which according to our observation did not seem to be well fed. When we returned to the village in 1952, not a single hog remained in Bangchan.

Fish

262 443 434 After rice, fish (and other marine animals) are by far the most important ingredient in the diet of Bangchan. More fish are bought from the outside than the very small amount that is exported from the village mainly by one or two very poor families who have availed themselves of this means of augmenting their income.

221 226 The villagers' annual cycle for fish-taking varies somewhat with the particular method used, and with the annual rice and ceremonial cycles: yet the maturation cycle of the principal types of fish is also a factor, and one which tends to give an overall orderliness to the annual cycle for fish in general. There is no time in the year when at least some fish are not available, nor is there any time in the year, even the busiest, when the family does not want fresh fish for its menu. For this reason, there is fishing the year round, at least in the form of the housewives simply setting nets in the canal and then tending them according to some schedule or whenever the noise of caught fish sloshing about in the water is heard. When a lull from the pressure of

7: Janiekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

162 592 621 average size of family in 1953 is slightly larger than that calculated from the 1949 census.

Disappearance of Some Families from Bangchan

162 178 592 621 When the 1949 and 1953 censuses are paired hamlet by hamlet, appearance of new families and disappearance of some of the old families may be detected. Table 5 shows that during the four years between 1949 and 1953 forty-three families had disappeared from the lists of the seven hamlets constituting Bangchan. This loss was compensated by fifty-three new families, giving a net gain of ten families. In other words, of 288 families existing in 1949, 245 families remained throughout the period. When 53 new families were added to the continuing 245 families, a new total of 298 families was arrived at for 1953. A closer examination, however, will reveal that there were five families which disappeared from one hamlet only to appear in another hamlet of the same Bangchan village. If the seven hamlets are to be considered as one geographical unit, these five families should be deducted from both the disappeared and new families, giving a net disappearance of 38 families and a net appearance of 48 new families, while the number of continuing families becomes 250.

[166] Of 38 families which disappeared from Bangchan, 27 moved out to other villages nearby or afar, while 11 were disintegrated or simply annexed by other families in Bangchan itself.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 68]

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TABLE 5

CHANGES IN NUMBER OF BANGCHAN FAMILIES FROM 1949 TO 1953

Hamlet	Number 1949	Number 1953	Continuing			Disappeared				New			
			Total	(1)	(2)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)
BC4	43	40	32	32	0	11	6	0	5	8	3	1	4
BC5	27	28	24	18	6	3	2	1	0	4	1	1	2
BC6	44	47	38	36	2	6	4	0	2	9	4	2	3
KY5	54	63	45	40	5	9	6	1	2	18	13	2	3
KY6	28	31	27	26	1	1	0	1	0	4	0	3	1
KY7	42	42	37	33	4	6	5	1	0	5	3	0	2
KY8	49	47	42	36	6	7	4	1	2	5	3	0	2
Total	288	298	245	221	24	43	27	5	11	53	27	5	21

Explanation

Continuing (1) . . same family head
Continuing (2) . . different family head

Disappeared (1). . moved out of the village
Disappeared (2). . moved to other hamlet in the village
Disappeared (3). . disintegrated or annexed by other family

New (1). . . . . moved into the village from other village
New (2). . . . . moved in from other hamlet of the village
New (3). . . . . separated from other family in the village.

592 178 621 Although disintegration and annexation of families have a common feature in that in either case the family loses its entity, they have different connotations as to how the family passes out of existence. In order to have a clear picture of the village economy it is necessary to make a distinction between these two dynamic processes. The best way, perhaps, is to study the eleven families individually.

592 178 621 511 Case 1: A poor laboring family of eleven lived in BC4. The family head was in 1949 an old man of 59, his wife an old woman of 64. The family also included a son, age 29, son's daughters, 16 and 10, son's son, 9, daughter, 35, daughter's son, 18, daughter's daughters, 11, 4 and 1. This was the situation when we were first acquainted with them. When we re-visited the village in 1952, however, we found that only two members remained -- A, the old woman now sick with malnutrition and almost immovable, and B, her granddaughter then age 14 and still in the primary school. Presumably the girl was taking care of her grandmother. Except for the clothes they were wearing and a small old shack which was about to collapse, they did not own anything. B said she worked on a three-fourth-rai parcel and did some fishing or vegetable gathering before and after school time. Actually, she did not get much out of that effort; for the rice crop, 30 tang of paddy or roughly 15 tang of clean rice, was barely enough for a few months' consumption, and fishing would not be productive unless she had several long uninterrupted hours. In tracing what had happened to the rest of

178 592 621

198 592 621 the family members we were informed that A's daughter and her four children had moved out of the village separately to different places which could not be traced, while B's brother and sister went to live with a relative in Lam-loogga, also a rice growing village some fifteen miles to the north. The two chief bread winners of the family, A's husband and B's father, managed successfully to get themselves ordained and are now residing in the village temple. Early in 1953 B went to live with her relatives in Lam-loogga, leaving the sick old grandmother alone in Bangchan. [792] [488] The arrangement was that the old woman was to quit the old shack and take refuge in the secular part of the temple where it would be possible for her ex-husband, now a priest, to have two meals delivered to her every day. Just before the 1953 census was taken, however, she was taken to Lam-loogga. The last member of the disintegrating family was thus left out of the 1953 census.

178 592 587 736 621 Case 2: After the death of his first wife, an old man in BC4 gave his two sons equal shares of his property. He then acquired a second wife and built a separate quarter apart from the main building, thus creating a new family of two. In 1952 he was fatally hit by a truck on the Minburi road. After a few months of unhappy stay with one of her step sons, the widow acquired a new husband and moved out to a neighboring village.

178 592 621 [166] Case 3: There was in BC4 a laboring family of three consisting of an old man, his daughter, and her son. After

178 592 62 [166] the death of her father, it was reported that the woman and her son moved to Bangplee, another rice growing village some fifteen miles to the south. After checking with some of the former Bangchan residents who are now living in that village, the first report was found to be inaccurate. In fact no one in Bangchan seemed to know where they were. The only hint available to us concerning the mother and son was "Family disintegrated. Mother went one direction, son another direction."

Case 4: A woman and her adopted son were operating [782] a 22-rai rice farm in 3C6. After the death of the mother, the man remained in the village alone for a short time and then was conscripted into the army.

Case 5: After the death of the head of a laboring family in 3C6, the wife and their four grownup children left the village separately. In the eyes of villagers this was [166] another case of "family disintegration." The wife's birth place was in KY8, but she could not go back to her old family because there was not enough land to work.

Case 6: An old woman, age 76, was reported in the [787] 1949 census to be living alone in KY5. Later she moved [792] into the secular compartment of the temple (she was an aunt of the headpriest) where she died before the 1953 census was made.

Case 7: A man, age 50, was living in KY8 with his older sister, age 60, and their nephew's son, age 6. When the man died, the older sister pursued her brother's farm

178 592 621 laboring profession, limiting the work to transplanting only. Apparently she did not earn enough. During this hard period the young boy left her. The woman continued to live alone for two years. After the collapse of her check in 1953 she went to live with a young couple in KYS who are not related to her. In exchange for room and board and a nominal allowance, the old woman agreed to take care of the couple's baby.

178 592 895 434 621 [416] Case 8: In 1949, a couple, both teachers in the Bangchan Primary School, were sharing the same dwelling with the wife's mother's family, but having a separate food arrangement for themselves and their two young daughters. Thus, they appeared in the 1949 census as a seperate family. In local standard, the combined income of these two teachers was quite high. The family lived well and was the only family in Bangchan that owned a camera. In the 1953 census this family became a part of the wife's mother's family because they had arranged to share the same food. The reason that was given for this new arrangement was that some time earlier the wife's brother, who had been living with his mother, got married and moved out to start an independent family, whereupon the old lady suggested that her daughter move in to fill the vacancy.

178 592 621 [573] Case 9: In 1949, a family of three, consisting of a young couple and their six years old daughter, worked as farm hands for the wife's mother for fixed pay on which they were able to live independently. Two or three years later, the wife's mother asked this family to move into her household

178 592 621 [592] because four members of her family had just left her to establish families of their own. The son-in-law accepted this invitation and had since taken over the management of his mother-in-law's large 60-rai rice farm.

Case 10: In 1949, an old woman was living with two boys, one distantly related to her, the other without any [427] [792] [431] blood relationship. She was operating a small rented rice farm. Some time in the past she had made a generous offer of her own house to the temple which was not acted upon by the receiving party. In 1953, the headpriest contemplated an expansion of one of the temple buildings and approached the woman for the gift. The woman complied with the request, had her house dismantled, saving only the kitchen, and sent all the building materials to the temple. Meanwhile, the two boys had left her; one went to live with his mother in [593] [431] the village, the other went to Bangkok. Later, the woman joined the household of her younger brother, who lived next door, with the understanding that the brother had free use of her buffalo in exchange for her room and board.

Case 11: In 1949, a woman was living in KY8 with her aged mother and her baby born of her separated husband [586] [587] who was a policeman. Two years later, the woman married a widower, who lived in the same hamlet, and brought along her mother and son to live with her new husband.

With the exception of Case 6, a lone aged woman who was survived by none after her death, these cases may be grouped according to the nature of acceptance of the families

7: Janiekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 592 621 to which surviving elements of the disappearing families were subsequently attached. It was noticed that in the last four cases -- Cases 8, 9, 10, and 11 -- merging with new families was arranged on the basis of mutual convenience, and the disappearing families moved en masse into the new ones (with the exception of Case 10 -- a lone woman when arrangement for merging was being made). It may even be said that the initiative came from the receiving families, although the new members may have been more anxious for the union. In the remaining six cases -- Cases 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 -- there was no element of mutual convenience, and the surviving elements of the disappearing families did not move into new families as a body but as an individual. It seemed in these latter cases that the force of circumstances -- death or extreme poverty -- had prompted either party, usually the disintegrating elements, to seek the union as a quick way out. Because of the purposive nature of the arrangement in the former cases, the process may be called 'annexation'; while for want of a proper term, the process seen among the latter cases will be called 'disintegration'.

[162] [423] [464] None of the eleven cases undergoing disintegration or annexation owned landed property. Table 6 shows that six of these were farm laboring families. The five others were distributed among the following occupational groups: farm operator, public servant, and no occupation.

[166] Among the 27 families that moved out of Bangchan, eleven families were known to be living in the bordering

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 75]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 6

DISINTEGRATION AND ANNEXATION OF FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949-53

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Case	Occupation	Landed Property	Immediate Cause	Number of Surviving Elements	Number of Attached Families
Disintegrations:					
1.	F. laborer	no	poverty	11	4
2.	Public servant	no	death	1	1
3.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
4.	F. operator	no	death	1	1
5.	F. laborer	no	death	5	3
6.	no occupation	no	death	0	0
7.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
Annexations:					
8.	Public servant	no	convenience	4	1
9.	F. laborer	no	convenience	3	1
10.	F. operator	no	convenience	1	1
11.	F. laborer	no	marriage	3	1

7: Janlekha X-4.5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7 Bangchan

178 villages, and six in villages within a distance of from four
592 to fifteen miles from Bangchan. These seventeen families,
621 whose locations were known, were engaged at the time of the
166 study in the same occupations they had been when they were in Bangchan -- either farm operating or farm laboring. Our investigation, however, covered only the whole family as a unit -- that is, we cannot say that every single individual constituting these seventeen families when they moved out of [464] Bangchan was doing farm work in his new location. Only one case was known in which the family head got a permanent job as a janitor in Wat Pakasan Primary School in Bangkok. This man was nevertheless commuting regularly between his farm home in Bangplee and his office in the suburb of Bangkok. His taking up a new job was thus a question of an individual member, not of the family as a whole.

It is not likely that the ten families whose locations were not known to us would take up new occupations in Bangkok. If they did work in Bangkok, they should pay some visits to Bangchan at least during festival time or family re-union occasioned by ordination or cremation, and their presence in the village would certainly be known to us. Besides, we were in constant contact with the core of a group of young men who went to work in Bangkok and who knew one another's whereabouts fairly well, and no information about these ten families was available from this source either. Our impression was that they were doing farm work in some villages not too close to Bangchan.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

Appearance of New Families in Bangchan

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In the pairing of the 1949 and 1953 censuses against each other the appearance of new families was detected as was the disappearance of some of the old families which has just been discussed. Table 5 shows that there were 53 new families, but five of these were merely cases of reappearance of existing families from other hamlets of the same village. Actually, therefore, there were only 48 families that were really new in Bangchan.

Of these 48 new families, 27 moved into the village from the outside and 21 evolved from existing families in Bangchan. Of the 27 immigrating families, 18 came from the bordering villages and 9 from distant villages in all directions ranging fro[illegible]ardprao and Samsen, some ten miles to the southwest, to [illegible]achin, over a hundred miles to the east. While the eighteen families from the bordering were accustomed, as expected, to rice growing, not all of the nine families from distant villages had been farmers. A family head of one of these nine families came from a family of fruit growers, while another family head, who apparently had a more spectacular record, had been engaged in international rice trading. This latter man, who knew some English, had worked in a large rice mill in Nonburi which was exporting ri[illegible]nder strict government control after the war. Discovery by the government agent of irregularities of the firm led to the man's flight abroad to Hongkong or Swatow some eight years ago. It is assumed with his

[463]

178 appearance in the village that the case has been closed.
592 One reason he chose to take up residence in Bangchan after
621 business failure in Bangkok was that his wife owned through
166 inheritance a 17-rai parcel of rice land in the village. Another equally important reason was the relatively low cost of living in the village as compared to the city, which could not be overlooked especially when he had a large family of ten.

162 Of the 21 families evolving or separating from
178 existing families in Bangchan during the period from 1949
592 to 1953, sixteen were young married couples seeking inde-
591 pendent families of their own. Eight of these were married
621 before 1949, and the rest after that year. These sixteen young couples altogether contributed, in the 1953 census, 21 children of age-group 0-4 years or about ten percent of all children of that age-group in the whole village.

This process of separation of young married couples from the old families is normal, in fact a characteristic feature, in areas where the nuclear family system predominates. Although some newly wed couples were able to establish independent families immediately, the pattern was that they remained for a year or more with family of either side, during which time they accumulated capital necessary for future establishment. A separate section will be devoted to this important feature of the village economy.

178 In contrast to the above normal separation from old
592 families, the remaining five of the 21 families underwent
621

178 592 621 different types of separation which will be described individually as follows:

Case 1: This involved the two sons who inherited landed property from his father described in Case 2 for the disintegration of the family, and in fact this was the first Bangchan family we met in 1948. At that time the elder brother, then age 37, was a widower and was courting a woman in another village along the Minburi Road. His work in road construction and maintenance (the Minburi Road) gave him a good excuse for continued absence from home, leaving his two daughters and three sons under the care of his younger [587] brother who was the family head. Just before the 1949 census [464] was made, he married the woman and once again became settled down. Meanwhile the younger brother got a job in road construction. With regular monthly cash income, he took to drinking and established himself as one among the few notorious dipsomaniacs in the village. This was intolerable to the elder brother who finally moved his nuclear family out to their new home just across the road.

Case 2: In 1949, an unmarried woman was living in an 'extended' family headed by a son of her elder sister. The combined landed property of the family was 67 rai of rice land, 40 rai of which was a share of the woman and her aged mother who was also living in the family. Some time before the 1953 census was made the woman and her mother moved out to form a separate household. The reason for the separation was not quite clear. It was assumed, however,

178 592 621 [586] that these two women were happier living by themselves than with their junior relatives.

Case 3: A married couple were living in 1949 with the wife's parents. They were later separated, the husband leaving his former wife with her parents. In the 1953 census the man appeared in KY7 list as head of a one-person household.

Case 4: In 1949, a woman appeared in the census as wife of a family head in KY6. In that same year she left him and lived as wife with another man in KY8. A few years after, she left this second man again. She then appeared in the 1953 census as family head of a family of six including her three children and her aged parents.

Case 5: In 1949, a man of 47 was head of a laboring family of nine in KY, including his wife, three adult offspring and four young children. Later in that year he left [464] [586] the family and hired himself out as a regular laborer to a farm operator with whom he worked for two years. He then left the village for a year after which he returned to work as regular hired laborer for another operator for almost a year and a half. In the 1953 census he appeared as head of a one-person household in KY6. Our records show that he was a diligent worker, excellent fisherman, averse to sweet cookies, but very fond of liquor. When asked why he did not go back to his family in KY8, he replied "The larger the family you have, the more trouble you get. I have more fun living alone."

178 These five cases may be grouped as follows: two
592 cases of relatives of family heads separating from 'extended'
621 families, two cases of one spouse leaving the other, and one case of a family head deserting his wife and children.

Pattern of Establishment of New Families

593 Bangchan offspring customarily continued to live with
592 their parents as long as they were not married regardless of how old they might be. In the eyes of the parents, an offspring is always their child, immature and needing parental supervision, as long as he has not been able to acquire a spouse; and until then the parents-offspring mutual obligations, necessitating living together, must continue to exist. Thus, it was not uncommon to see several unmarried adults crowding in one family providing too large a labor force relative to a small parcel of land on which the family [581] worked. In this context, marriage serves an important economic function of giving impetus to the start of new producing units in the village. There is no corresponding service in areas where the extended family system predominates such as in China and India.

583 Two distinct kinds of marriage were conceived of in Bangchan: the conventional marriage with the sanction of parents or guardians of both parties which was usually preceded by formal arrangement and accompanied by marriage rites sponsored by the bride's family; and the p pular marriage by mutual understanding between the man and wife without

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

591 A probable explanation was that the poor had nothing to
184 gain from staying for a few years with parents after marriage. More important still was that with limited working land, presumably rented, the parents also did not get any economic benefit from the couple, whose stay with the family meant extra mouths to feed rather than extra hands to work.

Immediate establishment of new families was also observed in some couples originating from well-to-do families. This was nevertheless rare, because in the present economic condition it was rather difficult to find families rich enough to provide for the immediate establishment of a new family. The general pattern, then, was to let the couple accumulate for themselves while getting the benefit of free board and lodging from the parents. This period of stay with the parents with the intention for accumulation for future establishment may be called the 'nascent period'.

591
a 178 Table 7 shows that 30 out of 96 families of farm
184 operators covered by the study were able to establish their nuclear families immediately after marriage. When these 96 farm operators were grouped according to their dates of marriage to the present spouses or last spouses in cases of widowers and widows, the distribution was as follows: those married during the absolute monarchy regime (up to 1932), 54; those married during the democratic regime (after 1932), 37; never married, 4; date of marriage not available, 1. Since 20 out of the 30 families which were able to establish themselves immediately were in the first group, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 85]

7: Janiekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 7

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF LENGTH OF NASCENT PERIOD OF 96 SAMPLE-FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Length in Years	Frequency
0	30
1	16
2	9
3	4
4	4
5	5
6	2
7	0
8	1
9	3
10	2
11-15	3
16-20	1
Not separate*	15
No information	1
Total	96

* These 15 families existed earlier as minor components of the old families. Headship of each family was later assumed by the present family head.

591 proportion for immediate establishment was 20 out of 54 or
184 37 per cent for those married before 1932, and 10 out of
178 37 or only 27 per cent for those married after 1932. A declining trend was thus observed of the ability to establish a new family immediately after marriage.

591 Table 7 also shows that the 'nascent' period of 50
592 families (that had ones) ranged from one to twenty years,
184 averaging four years, the mode being one year, and the median
178 two years. Among the fifteen non-separating families, eight headships were taken over by offspring while one or both of the parents were still alive (we shall call this 'type A'), four headships were taken over by offspring through the death of parents (we shall call this 'type B'), and three headships were taken over by spouses ('type C'). The last mentioned changing over of family headship (type C) occurred in three ways: through marriage of a man to a female head of a family whereby the husband automatically became the family head, death of the husband, and desertion of the husband.

591 The changing over of the family headship of the type
592 B in Table 7 was a natural process of inheritance. In type
184 A, it was found that senility accounted for seven out of
428 eight cases of the changing over, the one exception being
587 the case of a widower who wanted to have a second wife and who thought that the family assets originally belonged to his first wife's biological family and therefore an outside woman should not lay a hand on the 300,000 baht property.

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949*

Occupation	BC4	BC5	BC6	KY5	KY6	KY7	KY8	Total
F. operators	25	25	38	37	25	37	42	229
F. laborers	7	1	2	10	1	-	6	27
Traders	1	-	2	1	-	2	1	7
Investors	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
Professional	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
Public servants	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
Home enterprisers	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	4
Priest or novice	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Miscellaneous	1	1	1	1	1	3	-	8
Total	43	27	44	54	28	43	49	288

* Some figures in this table differ slightly from those reported on pages 114-5 of the preliminary study (Sharp, Hauck, Janlekha and Textor, Siamese Rice Village) because errors such as duplications and omissions in the original census have been detected and corrected.

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TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Occupation	BC4	BC5	BC6	KY5	KY6	KY7	KY8	Total
F. operators	26	19	33	42	28	31	37	216
F. laborers	6	3	8	7	2	5	7	38
Traders	4	4	2	6	1	2	2	21
Investors	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	5
Professional	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Public servants	-	-	2	4	-	1	-	7
Home enterprisers	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Priest or novice	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Miscellaneous	1	1	1	2	-	2	1	8
Total	40	28	47	63	31	42	47	298

T. Janlekha X-4.5 (1948-1953) 1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 11

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949-53

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Occupation	Distribution				
	Actual		Per Cent		
	1949	1953	1949	1953	Changes
Farm operators	229	216	80	72	-8
Farm laborers	27	38	9	13	+4
Traders	7	21	2	7	+5
Investors	4	5	1	2	+1
Professional	3	1	1	+	-1
Public servants	5	7	2	2	
Home enterprisers	4	1	1	+	-1
Priest or novice	1	1	+	+	
Miscellaneous	8	8	3	3	
Total	288	298	100	100	

434 463 7. Home enterpriser. Main income from food or handicraft articles produced at home.

434 792 463 8. Priest or novice. Though priests and novices do not receive salaries or wages, their maintenance, which comes from the temple and directly from the people in the form of contributions, is their main income. This category includes only permanent priests and novice personnel. Excluded here are all residents who enter the priesthood more or less perfunctorily for just a few months. Since sexual abstinence is demanded of all monastic personnel, no wives or offspring are found in this category.

434 9. Miscellaneous. The main income source for the eight families in this category is obscure. The heads of these families are not known to have any steady occupations.

178 463 621 Table 9 shows the occupational distribution of Bangchan families as of 1949. It may be observed that some of the figures in this table differ slightly from those reported in the preliminary study previously cited. This is because errors such as duplications and omissions in the original census have been detected and corrected.

Table 10 shows the same distribution as of 1953, and Table 11 the change in the occupational structure of the village that took place during the four intervening years. In 1949, 80 per cent of Bangchan families were farm operators. Four years later, the figure was reduced to 73 per cent. While there was no percentage change in the figures for public servants, miscellaneous, and priest or

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 463 621 novice; there were noticeable increases in those for farm laborers and traders, and a slight increase in that for investors, which were offset by a marked decrease in figures for farm operators and slight drops in those for the professional and home enterprisers. In order to understand these changes in the occupational structure of the village, more information on some of these occupation than that given in our operational definitions at the beginning of this chapter is necessary.

243 434 463 Farm operation is a traditional way of life in the village. The primary motive is to secure enough rice for consumption. A secondary motive is to have cash from sale of surplus rice to buy goods that are not produced locally.

243 464 554 621 463 Farm laboring as a profession is limited to the poor. Farm laborers, occupying the lowest status in the village, are the most unstable and socially disintegrated group. They are not fully employed even during the work seasons of the year because there are too many of them in the locality. Thus, they exist in the village not because of demand for their work but because they have no opportunity for other occupations.

621 463 443 There were twenty-one families that were classified as traders in 1953. Of these, nine were permanent storekeepers, and twelve were peddlers selling food stuffs from door to door. Stores were situated at strategic places in the village -- two at the crossing of Minburi Road and Bangchan Canal which is the natural entrance into the village,

427 the combined land of five leading farm operators of 693
434 rai, averaging 139 rai per operator and ranging from 83
454 to 235 rai. It must be remembered that our operational
621 definition of occupations was based on the main source of
463 income and that many of the villagers had more than one
426 source of income. Investors as an occupational class in Bangchan should not be pictured as large landlords and large money lenders, possessing financial influences over their tenants and debtors. Rather, they were humble fellow villagers whose incomes were mainly derived from rents of small parcels of land or interest on small loans. To cite an extreme case, one aged woman was classified as an investor. She had only 17 rai which she rented out to her own son. She was living alone in an old shack and was too old to do any kind of work. She received as rent about a hundred tang of paddy a year which is equivalent to an annual income of only 800 baht. Thus she was considered one among the poor in the village.

178 There were three families whose occupations were
463 classified as professional in 1949. The number was reduced
621 to one in 1953. The head of this family was a Chinese car-
322 penter who derived his income primarily from boat building. Again, it must be pointed out that reduction of the number of families primarily engaged in professional services does not mean that professional services had been declining.
[305] On the contrary, they had been increasing. There were three barbers in 1953 as against only one in 1949. More traditional

178 doctors were practicing in 1953 than in 1949, while there
463 was no change in the number of midwives. In most cases,
621 however, these professional services had ceased to be the main sources of income of the families engaging in them.

621
434 In 1953, occupation defined as public service in-
463 cluded the jobs of an educational supervisor, one teacher,
647 two school janitors, two workers in the government-owned
[875] Bangkok wharf, and one policeman. Actually, there were five Bangchan residents who were teaching in 1953. Only one of these, however, was a family head. Two of the other four teachers were husband and wife living with the wife's mother who was classified as an investor -- the most prosperous of the investors mentioned earlier in this section. Another teacher, a wife, was also living with her mother who was also an investor. The last teacher, also a wife, was living independently with her husband who was operating a rice farm, and the occupation of the family was thus classified as farm operating. With the possible exception of the policeman, all these public servants were well paid in the village standard, ranging from some four hundred baht a month for a janitor to eight hundred baht for the educational supervisor. After the 1953 census was taken, more regular jobs were opened to Bangchan residents by the Highways Department, and also more people took up regular jobs of a public service nature in Bangkok while retaining residence in Bangchan by commuting daily between the village and their offices. Thus,
[178] although the percentage figures remain constant during

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434 1949-53, in actuality public service as an occupation is
463 increasing in Bangchan.
621
647 There were four home enterprisers in 1949, mostly
engaged in making cookies. As in case of the professional,
434 this activity still existed in Bangchan, but by 1953 it had
443
463 degenerated into a secondary income, leaving the lone case
621 of basket making in the home enterprise category.
285 Only one family head was classified in 1953 as a
home-enterpriser. The family was engaged in making takraw
--- cane utensil used in picking mangoes from the tree.
On January 27, 1953 we met A, the head of this family, who
was taking 103 takraws of various sizes to sell in Bangkok.
[435] A gave the amounts and prices of these takrawa as follows:
56 large size, @ 3.00 baht; 31 medium size, @ 2.50 baht;
16 small size, @ 2.00 baht. A said he and his wife worked
on these 103 takraws alone, and finished them in twelve
days, using 50 baht worth of materials including cane, wood,
and binders. Ordinarily, they started making takraws in
December and continued through May. They were able to make
about 3,000 baht within this period. They also made other
things like baskets, but takraws were their main source of
income. In rice growing season, they also did some piece
working. They did not operate a farm. Piece working and
basketry during rice growing season brought them a combined
income of about 2,000 baht. The amount of each kind of
621 basketry they made was not as constant as takraws. It de-
434 pended more on which paid best. Their total annual income
463

434 amounted to somewhere around 5,000 baht, which was about
463 four times as much as the labor earnings of an average rice
621 farm operator as we shall see later.

• 178 The present occupational situation and accounts of
463 the changes in the past few years alone may not be enough to give us a complete picture of occupational development since the beginning of the history of Bangchan. Fourtunately, however, since settlement in the village in a considerable scale took place only some eighty years ago, evidence from genealogical studies has provided us with ample materials on which a reconstruction of the past development may be made.

[175] When Bangchan was being settled in the 1870's, as a probable consequence of the increasing national and international demand for rice and the revolutionary change in Thai society, every family was naturally a farm operator family. As long as there was land available for clearing, opportunity would be open for every new family, either branching off from the old ones or moving in from the outside, to operate a rice farm.

(161] Eventually, population grew up to a size large enough
[194] to support a temple in 1895. Population growth and the
[176] emergence of a village center at the temple prompted occupational specialization. At the beginning, investing, trading, professional servicing, and home enterprising probably took the forms of secondary occupations, while farm operating remained the primary occupation throughout. In time, these secondary occupations became more and more specialized and

178 finally, for a few families, took precedence over rice
463 growing. The relative importance of these new occupations remained low, however, since only a few families were needed to meet the village requirements for such services.

434 The establishment of the primary school some thirty
647 years ago opened up new jobs as teachers and janitors for
875 some educated villagers who were given preference over out-
[872] siders. It should be noted, nevertheless, that at the beginning the primary school teachers were not considered as regular officials and their pay was as low as six baht a month during the prewar years. Even during the war, they did not get as proportionately large a cost-of-living raise as did other regular officials. It was only after the war that they were made regular officials and that their pay rose almost a hundred times to 450 to 550 baht a month with provision for a steady raise to more than one thousand baht
[48] a month. This new occupation in public service also increased with the extension of the central government employment into the rural areas and with improved transportation facilities which permitted an individual to commute daily between his office in Bangkok and his home in Bangchan. Thus, a Bangchan resident is now serving as an educational supervisor in the nearby Minburi District and a few others are on the regular payroll of the government-owned Bangkok Wharf.

243 With the background knowledge of the situation of
464 Bangchan farm laborers previously described in mind, we may
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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 hypothesize that the presence of farm laborer families in
464 a rice growing village indicates a condition of land scar-
621 city. This is to be distinguished from the presence of farm
463 laborer families in intensive farming areas such as the truck gardening villages along the Damnernsaduag Canal and plantation villages in Cholburi where the marginal product of labor, even with the same crude implement, is much higher than that in the non-intensive rice growing areas. Usually, there are farm laborers in any commercial rice growing region, but they consist of members of farm operator families with excess family workers who work for their own lampai. With low marginal product of labor, the demand for extra labor outside the family is not great and is highly seasonal in rice growing villages, resulting in extremely low total income for farm laborers. Piece-working is thus only good as a subsidiary income for an under-employed farm operator family, and certainly not as the main source of income for any family. Farm laborer families such as those existing in Bangchan are indigenous and are the outgrowth of competition for land coupled with the reluctance to emigrate on the part of those who failed to rent in any land. These people prefer to remain in the home village, willing to accept meager income from piece-work which is perhaps the only type of job they could get in the village, in the meantime trying to eke out as much as possible from what nature has to offer in the form of fish or uncultivated aquatic plants. The
[161] [178] abrupt rise of farm laborer families in Bangchan from nine

per cent in 1949 to thirteen per cent in 1953 suggests that the problem of population pressure on land has become more acute, although it may also indicate changes in the cost structure of rice production which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Concluding the discussion of this section, we may say that rice growing is the core of the occupational structure of Bangchan around which other occupations rotate. It is not uncommon that one family has several occupations, and in addition to income from these most families get "free" food in the forms of fish and uncultivated aquatic plants. This is the principal reason why families with apparently no cash income still thrive.

It is conceivable that in years of poor rice crop the family put more effort in the secondary occupations; when such an attempt does not work out well -- for example, no work for manual labor and no capital for trivial trade -- an effort is made to obtain subsistence directly from nature.

In any event, every family in the village is engaged in fishing in varying degree. It is because of this fact coupled with the fact that the village fish supply is decreasing that the problem of fish conservation is very important.

Finally, the dynamic nature of rice farming, with varying efforts on getting extra jobs and securing free food outside the farm depending upon the increase and decrease of the rice crop, suggests that the economy of any rice

Rent of Rice Land

*128 • 178 427 Tables 24 and 25 show different rental methods in 1948 and 1952. Figures in Table 24 were obtained from our records of the sample of 104 farms in operation in 1948, and figures in Table 25 were obtained from the same sample reduced in 1952 to 96 farms which had been continuously in operation until then, the other eight farms having ceased to operate by 1952.[8]

427 *243 178 It is seen that with the exception of a single case of share-cropping there were two rental methods in 1948, in kind and in cash, the proportion of areas involved being fifteen rai of rent in kind to every rai of cash rent. In 1952 rental methods remained more or less the same, consisting principally of rent in kind and cash rent, the proportion of areas involved being slightly increased to nineteen rai of rent in kind to every rai of cash rent.

*243 178 427 435 There was, however, a rapid rise in rent rates within this period of four years. It is seen that the average rate of 6.2 tang per rai in 1948 has risen to 8.1 tang per rai in 1952, an increase of 31 per cent in four years.

[433] It is interesting to note that an increased rent rate was charged in spite of the decline in yield of 32.1 tang per rai in 1948 to 25.2 tang per rai in 1952, or from the record crop index of 111.4 in 1948 to 87.5 in 1952 (Table 14).

[434] Another equally interesting point is that the increase in rent rate was charged in spite of the increases in the

8. See Chapter IV of the sampling technique.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]

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TABLE 24

DIFFERENT RENTAL METHODS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948*

Rate Per Rai	Rate in Tang Equivalent	Number of Parcels Reported	Total Area	Total Rent**
Kind			rai	baht
3 tang	3.0	1	11	259.38
5 tang	5.0	29	623.75	24,513.53
5 1/2 tang	5.5	1	15	648.45
6 tang	6.0	22	390	18,392.40
7 tang	7.0	15	313.50	17,248.77
8 tang	8.0	28	495.50	31,157.04
Cash				
12.50 baht	1.6	1	8	100.00
30.00 baht	3.8	6	91.50	2,745.00
41.38 baht	5.3	1	14.50	600.00
50.00 baht	6.4	1	6	300.00
Share				
50% of crop	--	1	10	--
Unspecified	--	1	20	--
Total	--	105	1,998.75	95,964.57
Average	6.2	--	1	48.89

* From the preliminary study of Bangchan, page 149.
** The 1949 farm price of 7.86 baht per tang was used.
-- Not available.

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 25

DIFFERENT RENTAL METHODS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1952

Rate Per Rai	Rate in Tang Equivalent	Number of Parcels Reported	Total Area	Total Rent*
			rai	baht
Kind				
6 tang	6.0	5	75	4,050.00
7 tang	7.0	16	353.50	22,270.50
8 tang	8.0	39	876	63,072.00
9 tang	9.0	3	39	3,159.00
10 tang	10.0	6	113	10,170.00
Cash				
40 baht	4.4	1	46	1,840.00
50 baht	5.6	3	15.50	775.00
70 baht	7.8	1	16	1,120.00
Free	--	4	(84)	--
Total	--	78	1,534	106,456.50
Average	8.1	-	1	72.66

* The price of 9 baht per tang was used. It should be noted, however, that while the farm price of 7.86 baht per tang used in Table 24 was a result of a day by day record of actual sales during the first selling period (December-March) comprising about two-thirds of marketable paddy of 104 operators studied in 1948-49, this price of 9 baht per tang was not as systematically arrived at because we could not afford as much time in the 1952-53 study. This 9 baht was simply a rounded modal price during the first selling period of the 1952-53 rice year (December 1952-March 1953).

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243
178 other items of cost of producing paddy -- in other words,
427 in spite of a decline in profit (a great decline when a
434 reduced yield is also considered). In the preliminary study
435 in 1948-49, it was found that the average cost of producing a tang of paddy was 5.86 baht, all costs included except value of operators' labor.[9] When the value of the operators' labor of 1,000 baht for those operating ten rai or over and of 500 baht for those operating less than ten rai was included in the calculation, the cost of production was found to be 6.76 baht per tang, including 1.52 baht for rent, 3.46 baht for labor (values of operators' labor and family labor included), 0.38 baht for seeds and materials, 0.65 baht for depreciation, and 0.75 baht for interest on investment. As we shall see in the section on cost of producing paddy in Chapter VI, an estimate of cost using the 1952 prices, for time and opportunity did not permit a second cost of production study during our second period of field work in 1952-53, points toward an increase in every item of the cost of producing paddy in Bangchan.

An explanation for this abrupt rise in rental of rice land in Bangchan lies in the nature of the demand for and supply of rice land. Although rents may be surpluses

*[128]

9. Sharp et al, op. cit., p. 171. In this preliminary study, the cost of family labor was imputed (at going wage rate) from labor requirement based on acreage, the cost of the use of the operator's own land was imputed from going rent rate, and the depreciation cost was calculated by dividing the original cost of equipment by their respective expected length of service.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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178 from certain points of view, or for certain purposes, or
427 subject to certain interpretations, they are to the indi-
434 vidual producer no different from any other money expense.
435 They do not arise as a surplus from his own operations;
they are a cost rigidly imposed upon him by the competition
of his rivals for the use of the rent-yielding property.
They figure in the same way as do wages of labor and the
interest of capital in his computations as to the most ad-
vantageous proportion between the factors and as to the most
*[128] advantageous scale of operations.[10] Naturally, we are now
dealing with contractual rent, which is the actual sum paid
by the tenant to the landlord for the use of the land, not
the hypothetical economic rent of the classical economists.

*243 The preliminary study revealed that there was in
464 1948 under-employment on some Bangchan farms in terms of
rai worked per worker. This was shown by compering the
number of rai worked per worker on 94 farms employing no
hired laborer with the number of rai worked per worker on
*[128] 10 farms employing one or more hired laborers. On the farms
where only family labor was used, the figure was 9.4 ad-
justed rai per worker; while on those farms which used
regularly hired laborers along with family labor, the figure
was 13.4 adjusted rai per worker. (Each rai of transplanted
rice was counted as one adjusted rai, while each rai planted
by the less-labor-requiring broadcast method was counted as
one-half of an adjusted rai.) An assumption was made that

10. Edward Chamberlin, The Theory of Monopolistic Competition (sixth edition; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 22.

243 464 farm operators who hired regular laborers did so because full utilization of the effort of all the family workers was not adequate. This assumption would seem to be reasonable in view of the rather high cost of hiring such laborers. It was concluded, then, that some farms in the community were below optimum size for the number of workers in the family.[11]

243 464 161 178 This condition of farm under-employment is our basic assumption in discussing rent rates in Bangchan. With an increase in population in an area where farm operating is the core around which other less important occupations rotate, it may be reasoned that the aggregate demand for rice land in 1952 was at least as high as that in 1948 if not greater. As for the extent of under-employment of farm labor, it is interesting to note that the number of families directly engaged in rice farming, the farm operating and farm laboring families, was 256 in 1949 and 254 in 1953. With a constant supply of land (in the popular sense of the term), this more or less constant number of families directly engaged in rice farming indicated that the extent of farm under-employment in 1952 was just about the same as that in 1948. Although the average size of the family was found to be slightly smaller in 1953,[12] that slight decrease was certainly not large enough to materially affect the situation.

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11. Sharp et al., op. cit., p. 158.

[162] 12. The average size of the family was 5.7 in 1949, and 5.5 in 1953.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243 As long as farm under-employment prevails and as
434 long as limited opportunity for an alternative occupation
464 is open to farm operators and farm laborers, we have reason to believe that the demand for rice land is rather inelastic. Another important factor contributing to this belief is the operator's concept of cost of producing paddy which seemed to include only explicit rent (actual amount paid to the
[435] landlord) and cash operating expenses. Thus, while our calculation shows that the cost was 6.76 baht per tang or 215 baht per rai in 1948, the figure would be only 1.71 baht per tang or about 55 baht per rai according to the operator's concept of the cost.

*243 Under the conditions of farm under-employment, a
427 tenant, part-owner, or even owner-operator is willing to
464 pay high rent for an additional parcel because a larger
• 178 worked area would cost him only the additional explicit
435 rent and a small increase in seeds and materials. Unless the extra rented parcel is so large that extra labor must be sought outside the family, he does not have to pay any explicit wage at all for rice production in this additional parcel. Landlord-operators, on the other hand, are under a different situation, for they may rightly be considered land saturated and fully employed. Hence, the individual demand for working land on the part of a landlord-operator is relatively more elastic than those of the other farm oper-
*243 ators. As rent rose from 6.2 tang per rai in 1948 to 8.1
427 tang per rai in 1952, it was observed in Table 26 below that
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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 26

RELATIVE SENSITIVITY TO CHANGE IN RENT RATES OF LANDLORD-OPERATORS AND OTHER GROUPS

Category	Area Operated					Decrease, 1948-52	
	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	Actual	Per Cent
	rai	rai	rai	rai	rai	rai	
Landlord-operator							
Farmer A	110	100	80	70	65	45	41
Farmer B	80	80	50	8	8	72	90
Farmer C	75	75	75	75	75	0	0
Farmer D	65	70	60	70	60	5	8
Farmer E	47	47	47	47	47	0	0
Farmer F	26	26	26	5	5	21	80
Farmer G	24	0	0	0	0	24	100
Sub-total	427	398	338	275	260	167	39
Other groups of farm operators	2,981	2,732	2,764	2,764	2,786	195	7
All 104* operators	3,408	3,130	3,102	3,039	3,046	362	11

* The sample consists of 104 operators in 1948, 103 in 1949, 98 in 1950, 96 in 1951, and 96 in 1952.

7: Janlekha X-4,5/(1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

landlord-operators were more sensitive to the change in rent rates than were the other groups of farm operators.

Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation was mentioned in the preceding paragraph as one of the factors contributing to the inelastic nature of demand for working land. It was also mentioned in the section on the occupational structure of Bangchan that farm laboring families as existing in the village were indigenous and were an outgrowth of competition for land coupled with the reluctance to emigrate on the part of those who failed to rent in any land. Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation in the village was also suggested in the same section when it was mentioned that the only possible alternative -- petty trading which was actually taken up by some former farm operators -- was limited by the fact that villagers bypassed local traders and went to the nearby market town of Sinburi for major purchases and variety goods.

Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation outside the village, however, needs elaboration. It cannot be denied that wages in Bangkok, only twenty miles away and easily accessible through good road and bus services, were higher on the average than corresponding returns for labor in the village. It is important to note, however, that what will attract a villager to seek a job in Bangkok is not a higher average wage level in the city but a higher marginal wage there. Regarding the marginal wage, it is highly doubtful that a better condition exists in Bangkok.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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In discussing the forces of demand for and supply of land in the few preceding pages, it is not the purpose of the author to quantify these forces and attempt to predict rent or the price paid by the tenant for the control of net income deriving from the use of the productive powers of the soil. Rather, the purpose is to confirm in this specific case Chamberlin's general notion that "the equilibrium of economic forces has been wrongly identified with an equilibrium between demand and supply. The latter is merely a special case of the former. Curves of demand and supply tell nothing, either by themselves or by their intersection, as to what price will be established, until other conditions are known."[14]

Prices of Land

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One of the most significant phenomena during the period covered by this study, from 1948 to 1953, is the rise of prices of land in Bangchan.

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*[123]

Records of major receipts and expenses of 96 farm operators who have been continuously working on an average area of 3,140 rai, or 47 per cent of the total area worked by Bangchan residents, show that during this six-year period two operators sold two parcels of land and ten operators bought eleven parcels of land. Since none of these involved transaction between one and the other in our sample of 96 operators, it can be said that there was a total of thirteen

14. Chamberlin, op. cit., p. 15.

423 purchases (or sales) of land involving operators in our
432 sample as either sellers or buyers. The price and size as well as the time of sale of each parcel is shown in
• 178 Table 27. Using the highest of each year as the basis,
435 it is observed that land price in Bangchan has been rising
423 steadily from 350 baht per rai in 1948 to 700 baht in 1949, to 1,100 baht in 1950 and 1951, and then rose skyhigh to 11,000 per rai in 1953. To be sure, this spectacular rise, especially from 1951 to 1953, was largely due to the changing over of former agricultural to residential land. Nevertheless, when residential land is excluded from consideration, it is seen that the average rise in agricultural land prices was 560 per cent during the period from 1948 to 1953 (Table 28).

Perhaps a case of one large parcel in "Thung Nai Sab" in KY5 may serve to illustrate the way land prices rose in Bangchan during these past few years. The area of this parcel, which was owned by Lady Phung of Bangkok, was 100 rai. Our informant's father, Hajji Sa-ard of Bangchan Mosque, was interested in this parcel of land because it was adjacent to his land which was not far away from his home. In 1946, Lady Phung was willing to sell it at 300 baht per rai, but Sa-ard was reluctant or not quick enough to accept this offer for sale. In 1947, the lady raised her price to 350 baht and Sa-ard was ready to buy. This time it was hesitancy on Phung's part that prevented the proposed purchase from being consumated. In 1948, our

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 160]

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TABLE 27

PRICES OF RICE LAND ACTUALLY SOLD OR PURCHASED
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948-53

Year	Parcel Size	Price Per Rai	Highest Price of the Year	Average Price of the Year
	rai	baht	baht	baht
1948	11	350	350	223
	12	180		
	16	138		
1949	10	700	700	700
	10	700		
	10	700		
	10	700		
1950	1	1,100	1,100	850
	10	600		
1951	19 1/2	1,100	1,100	721
	10 1/2	1,000		
	19 1/2	250		
1952	--	--	--	--
1953	1	11,000	11,000	11,000

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 28

ESTIMATED PRICES OF BANGCHAN LAND BY ZONE
SHOWING PRICE CHANGES FROM 1948 TO 1953
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948-53

Zone*	Location	1948-Price baht/rai	1953-Price baht/rai	Increase baht/rai	Increase Per cent
Residential:					
1	Roadside** (200 m. depth)	300	12,000	11,700	3,900
Agricultural:					
2	"Thung Nai Sab"-	270	1,500	1,230	456
3	"Thung Nai Pho"	280	1,800	1,520	543
4	"Thung Kl. Kred"	250	2,000	1,750	700
5	Kl. Kred - Kl. Bangchan	230	1,500	1,270	552
6	Kl. Krached-Kl. Bangchan	210	1,500	1,290	614
7	Kl. Bangchan-Kl. Kralog	200	1,200	1,000	500
	Av. for ag. land	240	1,583	1,343	560

* See Map I.
** In 1948, this zone was still considered agricultural land -- not residential land as it was in 1953.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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423 informant said that some of the lady's tenants who had been
435 renting the parcel told her that she should not let it go under 500 baht per rai. Our informant thought that these tenants did not want to see any transfer of the ownership of the parcel for fear that it might adversely affect their prospective tenure. Lady Phung therefore raised her price to 550 baht. At this price Sa-ard gave up his intention of buying the land. In 1949, four tenants (all are included in our sample of 96 farm operators, hence the purchases are shown in Table 27) jointly purchased 40 rai of this parcel, and one Nai Ma of Klong 13 bought the remaining 60 rai of the 100-rai parcel at 700 baht per rai. The four tenants divided the land equally among themselves (10 rai each) and paid 7,000 baht each with borrowed money. In 1952 an offer to buy at 1,000 baht per rai was made for the same parcel but none of the new owners wanted to sell any of his land. In 1953 the price rose to 1,500-2,000 baht per rai and again none of the owners contemplated selling his land. Of the four tenants, Farmer A was luckiest because his share was attached to the Minburi Road and the price of this specific portion has risen to somewhere around 12,000 baht per rai.

The case just mentioned shows one significant point regarding the price of land in Bangchan other than the steady rise -- that nearness to the road was not a factor of price distinction until after 1949, for if it was, there would certainly have been some difficulty in dividing the 40-rai piece among the four tenants.

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Table 28 shows estimated prices of land in Bangchan in 1948 and in 1953. These prices are estimates made by our informant who is a son of Hajji Sa-ard mentioned in an earlier paragraph. He is one of the best informed persons in the village, has visited Mecca, and has received a higher education than any other person in Bangchan with the possible exception of one store-keeper who had spent a few years in the Military Academy in the 1910's.

Our informant, who will henceforth be called by his real name -- Hajji Direg, based his estimates of land prices in Bangchan on what he was willing to pay. He was aware of locational variation in prices of land in the village. Strictly speaking, this is not contradictory to our assumption of homogeneous nature of soils in Bangchan, for slight variation in Direg's estimated prices was due, according to him, to differences in the land levels which affected the cost of irrigation and drainage. Direg divided Bangchan into seven land-price zones (Table 28 and Map I). It is seen in this table that the 1948 price ranged from 200 baht per rai in Zone 7 to 300 baht per rai in Zone 1, averaging 249 baht per rai.

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Table 28 shows that the average price of agricultural land in Bangchan rose from 240 baht per rai in 1948 to 1,583 baht in 1953, an increase of more than five times in six years. Most remarkable was the increase of the price of land in Zone 1 from 300 baht per rai to 12,000 baht per rai. The increase in the price of land in Zone 1 shows that land

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178 in this zone has since been considered as residential land
423 although there has not been any apparent change in land
435 utilization.

178 It should be noted in this connection that during
423 the same period of 1948-53 there has been a steady rise in
435 the price of residential land in Bangkok at a highly varying rate depending upon location. For the purpose of our discussion, we may consider only the price of land in the northern suburb of Bangkok, on each side of Paholyctin Road (the popular Bangkok-Donmuang Road) which branches off at Kilometer 20 into Minburi Road which cuts across Bangchan Canal at Kilometer 13 (Crossing of Paholyotin and Minburi Roads as Km.0). It has been observed that the price of land on each side of Paholyotin Road has been increasing rapidly: a parcel at Km. 11 which was valued at 50,000 baht per rai in 1952, for example, was sold at 150,000 baht per rai in 1954. It has also been observed that price of land in this section of the Bangkok suburb declines with the distance from Bangkok proper: the 1954 price was 150,000 per rai at Km. 11, and 50,000 baht per rai at Km. 20 where the Minburi Road begins. If the Minburi Road is considered as a continuation of Paholyotin Road, it is only natural that the price of land would gradually decline to 12,000 baht per rai at Km. 13.

182 It is conceivable that the recent increase in Bangkok
423 population is one among several factors causing the rapid
435 rise of residential land prices. When the rapidity of the
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182 423 435 369 rate of increase in land price is considered, however, it is reasonable to believe that population increase is certainly not the only factor.

[121] It is not the purpose of this study to deal with the price of urban land. Neither the problem of land utilization nor the whole economy of Bangchan can be clearly understood, however, without some account of the rapid building up of urban land prices in recent years. It is thus necessary to digress at this point into some factors accountable for this rapid rise.

369 454 423 435 178 182 It has been observed that the volume of domestic saving in Thailand is small because of the low level of income, and that such saving as does take place tends to be put into real estate and gold and jewelry. Concentration of income resulting from the postwar phenomenon of shifting of political and economic power into the hands of few people, however, has somewhat increased the proportion of saving; but this is again used largely to purchase real estate. The natural result is the boosting up of urban land prices especially in the suburban sections where there has been a relatively high degree of improvement in road construction since the war.

423 45 178 369 182 This investment in land purchase has more than ever before assumed a speculative nature. This is largely due to the experience of inflation initiated by World War II whereby huge and easy profits could be made from buying and selling of land. Corruption in the sale and purchase

423 of government real estates has no doubt increased these
45 speculative activities. The process has also been greatly
178 accelerated by an enormous increase since the war of banking
369 facilities, which traditionally extend loans on mortgage of
182 real estate. It should be noted in this connection that the demand for loans in Bangkok has been so great as to allow most commercial banks to adopt a highly discriminating policy of extending loans only to their favored customers who are often willing to give as much as five per cent of the loan sought to bank officials as a customary "tea-money".

182 A third factor is that some organized financial
423 institutions have actively been engaged in deliberate at-
435 tempts to boost up land prices for their own speculative
455 gains. This was the immediate cause of the rise of land
178 price in Zone 1 from 300 baht per rai in 1948 to 12,000 baht
369 per rai in 1953. According to several informants in Bangchan, a representative of an insurance company in Bangkok came to the village in 1952 and offered to buy land on each side of Minburi Road at 10,000 baht per rai. This man was able to buy 20 rai of land at Km. 8, Minburi Road, which is in the immediate neighborhood of our arbitrary Bangchan Village, at his offered price of 10,000 baht per rai. At the time of the signing of the purchase contract, he made a 10 per cent down payment of 20,000 baht. Although the balance of 180,000 baht was not paid and the contract was later forfeited, the proposed purchase immediately pushed land prices in Zone 1 up to 10,000 baht per rai or over. According to

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our informants, the insurance company owned hundreds of rai of land in the vicinity. By spending only 20,000 baht in boosting up land prices, the company thus set the stage for making a large profit through sale of their own land at inflated prices.

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While the increase in land prices in Zone 1 was attributable to the sudden assumption of residential land prices, this explanation does not apply to the increases in land prices in the other zones which have remained agricultural throughout. Although less spectacular than the case of Zone 1, the rise in land prices in these six zones was also quite abrupt, averaging 560 per cent for the five-year period from 1948 to 1953 (Table 28).

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Capitalized valuation of these farm lands (Zones 2-7) may shed some light on the situation, although there is limitation especially to the cost concept. There are two ways by which a capitalized value of farm lands may be obtained: (1) by capitalizing income from the farm operation left after payment of all factor costs except land, and (2) by capitalizing income deriving from explicit rent of the land.

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Receipt from one rai of rice land in 1948 may be calculated from the crop of 32.1 tang at 252 baht, using that year's average farm price of 7.86 baht per tang of paddy. When the cost, including an imputed return to all labor but excluding rent, of 166 baht per rai is deducted, a residual return to land of 86 baht per rai is obtained for the year.[15]

15. For want of sufficient data, it is assumed that the cost items other than rent remain the same.

In 1953, figure for the size of the crop was not available, but we may use the 1948-52 average of 28.8 tang per rai. With the year's farm price of 9.00 baht per tang, receipt may be calculated at 259 baht per rai. Using the same cost, again excluding rent, of 166 baht as in 1948, a residual return to land may be estimated at 93 baht per rai.

Capitalized value of land may be calculated from the formula $v = \frac{a}{r}$ where 'v' stands for capitalized value of land, 'a' for income from the land, 'r' for the rate of interest prevailing in the locality.[16]

When the calculated residual return to land is used, the capitalized value of farm land in Bangchan (Zones 2-7) is found to be 573 baht per rai in 1948, and 620 baht per rai in 1953. When income deriving from explicit rent is used in the calculation, however, the capitalized values become 327 baht per rai in 1948 and 487 baht per rai in 1953.

It is interesting to note that capitalized values of land computed from these two different types of income were closer to each other in 1953 (487 baht computed from income deriving from explicit rent as against 620 baht computed from the calculated residual return to land) than in 1948 (327 baht computed from income deriving from explicit rent as against 573 baht computed from the calculated residual return to land). In other words, landlords are now receiving a larger proportion of the residual after payment of all

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16. The rate of interest of 15 per cent per year is used. This is the minimum going rate with security. Without security, the rate may be as high as 30 to 50 per cent per year.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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factors, except land, at the going rate of return. A more interesting point to note is that the capitalized value of land in 1948 (327-573 baht per rai) was substantially higher by either method of calculation that the average price of farm land in that same year (240 baht per rai), while the capitalized value of land in 1953 by either method of calculation (487-620 baht per rai) was far below the average price of farm land in that same year (1,583 baht per rai).

The situation in 1953 indicates that the price of farm land in Bangchan has been bid up too high. The stickiness of rent rates in the locality mentioned earlier together with the fact that landlords are now receiving a larger proportion of the residual after payment of all factors, except land, at the going rate of return have led us to the belief that the proportionate share of the landlords will be increasing in the near future.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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Table 30 shows that the size of the sample has continuously decreased from 104 in 1948 to 103 in 1949, 98 in 1950, 96 in 1951, 96 in 1952, and finally 87 in 1953.[1] It should be noted, however, that we re-visited the village in 1952 and that most of our materials on business and living aspects of the farms were gathered from the sample-farms existing in that year; hence we occasionally referred to the sample of 96 continuing farms.

One way of minimizing the problem of declining size of the sample is to include in the sample new farm operating families which have branched out from the original sample-families. It was found that there were ten such families when we re-visited the village to continue the study in 1952. If this method were adopted, it would mean that the size of our sample would then be 106 farms, a figure which does not differ very much from the original size of 104 farms in 1948.

Another way of solving the problem is to abolish the continuing operator approach entirely in favor of the re-sampling approach -- that is, a fixed sample size is chosen and new sampling is done every time a new survey is to be conducted. This approach, however, has the drawback that

[243] [178] [433] [463] [182]

1. According to Table 14, crop indices were as low as 86.8 for 1949, and 87.5 for 1952; while those for 1948, 1950 and 1951 were 111.4, 111.1 and 102.7 respectively. It is worth noting that a relatively large number of farm operators changed their occupation (or moved out of the village) in 1950 and 1953. When Table 14 is studied together with Table 30, it is seen that there is a close correlation between change in occupation (or change of farming place) and crop failure in the preceding year.

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 30

CHANGES IN OCCUPATION OF 104 SELECTED OPERATORS*
Sangchan, Thailand, 1948-53

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Occupation	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Farm operator	104	103	98	96	96	87
Farm laborer	-	-	-	-	1	3
Trader	-	-	-	-	-	2
Investor	-	1	1	1	1	3
Professional	-	-	-	-	-	-
Public servant	-	-	-	-	-	-
Home enterpriser	-	-	-	-	-	-
Priest or novice	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	1
Disappeared	-	-	5	7	6	8
Total	104	104	104	104	104	104

* Explanation for those changing occupation:

1949 A became an investor.

1950 B moved out to unknown locality.
C moved out to Lam Kralog.
D moved out to Sai Kong Din.
E moved out to Bang Plee.
F moved out to Bang Plee.

1951 G died, and family moved out to unknown locality.
H moved to Bangkok.

1952 H moved back from Bangkok into the village, became farm laborer.

1953 I moved to Lard Krabang.
J stopped farming, became an investor.
K stopped farming, became an investor.
L stopped farming, became a trader.
M stopped farming, became a farm laborer.
N stopped farming, became a farm laborer.
O's occupation became obscure (under miscellaneous).
P stopped farming, became a trader.
Q's family lost its identity, was annexed by a farm operating family not in the sample.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

125 it would deny any benefit that would arise out of continuous observation of each farm and farm operator through a series of years. With a view to retaining this benefit of continuity, we decided to adopt the first method -- that,is, we included in the sample the ten new families branching out from the original sample-families. Thus, in our subsequent study in 1952 the size of our sample became 106 farm operating families.

There were, however, some types of data which involved records in the past four or five years, such as harvested crop during 1948-52, accumulation of wealth, major receipts and expenses during the same period. In these cases we naturally used the continuing sample of 96 families.

*243 162 592 Composition of Farm Operating Families

Table 31 shows that the size of the farm operating family decreased from 6.3 in 1948 to 5.7 in 1952. It also shows that, while the number of adults remained more or less constant, the decrease in the size of the family was due almost entirely to the decrease in the number of the young from 2.5 in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952.

*243 162 592 182 178 [582] A possible explanation for this lies in the economic consequence of the war. Strict government control of the price of rice and of the internal movement of paddy during the war and also in the immediate postwar period has so adversely affected the economic condition of rice farmers that marriage has often been postponed. In cases where

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#: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 marriage did take place, the couple were usually obliged
162 to stay with the parents of either the husband or the wife
178 It is reasonable to believe that the nascent period was
592 prolonged during this period of hard times. Thus, the
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[582] family size tended to be larger than it normally is. This is especially true for rice farming families where there always is some work for members able to work. It is not surprising, then, that the average size of farm operating families in Bangchan was 6.3 in 1948 while the average siz of all families was 5.7 according to the 1949 census. A steady rise in the price of paddy after the war has improv the economic condition of rice farmers. The increased income, however, had to be spent first on replacement of equ ment and housing facilities which had been long overdue.
[792] Finally, the bumper crop of 1948 with an ever-increasing price put an end to farm misery, and the following dry season saw a record number of newly ordained priests and
[591] merit making activities. From then on proportionately mor marriages took place and there were fewer economic obstacl to keep newly wed couples from starting out independently. The combined effect of termination of prolonged nascent period and freer establishment of new families was that the size of the farm operating family was considerably reduced.

16 It may seem strange that more marriages should brin about a drop in the number of the young from 2.5 per family in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952. By the young is meant, however,

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

16 all children up to the age of 14 years. So it is only a fraction of these children, probably those in the age group of 0-3 years, that was contributed by marriages after 1948. While it is true that this contribution was quite considerable, since the proportion of children in the age group of 0-4 years rose from 10 per cent of total population in 1949 to 13 per cent in 1953, yet it was not enough to offset the effect of the decline in birth rate resulting from the war. Another factor to be considered is that children born during 1935-38, who were included as the young in the 1949 census, became adults in the 1953 census. Since these children were born before the war which did not affect their proportionate percentage in the total population, their removal from the young category in 1953 was not compensated by the entry into that category of children born during 1950-53. Finally, it was observed that among people who emigrated during 1949-53 small nuclear families consisting of young husband and wife and two or three children in the age group of 0-14 years predominated. Since the proportion of the young in these families, which had existed in Bangchan independently or more likely as a part of the extended families, is larger than the village figure, emigration must also be considered a factor responsible for the decline in the proportion of the young from 2.5 per family in 1948 to 2.0 in 1952.

*243
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*128 It was found in the preliminary survey in 1948 that of 398 adults in the 104 sample-families 319 or 80 per cent were working members of the family. Unfortunately, we did

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243 592 • 178 *128 not obtain comparable figure for our 106 sample-families in 1952. The question is whether or not we might assume that 80 per cent of the adult members of the 106 sample-families in 1952 were working members. It should be understood that working members of the family were those who participated in the family farm work, but they did not have to be fully employed. If the family farm is rather small, say only 10 rai, and there are as many as four able members of the family, naturally the four members will take turns in the farm work although the whole job can be easily done by two family workers or even one. In this case, we still consider that there are four working members of that family, for it is inconceivable that two able members of the family without help from the other two, would do all the farm work for the whole season.

What about the other 20 per cent of adult members? It was observed in 1948 that these adult members of farm operating families did not participate in the family farm work because they were too old to work, they were nursing mothers, sick (including pregnant), still incompetent in farm work (especially young people at the age of 15-16 years), or they were tied up with other jobs. All these factors except the last one may be considered natural factors which occur in a somewhat constant proportion regardless of time. It would seem, then, that we might reasonably assume that 80 per cent of adult members of our sample-families in 1952, or 313 out of the total of 391 persons, were working members,

243 178 592 128 except for the question of some of these adults being tied up with other jobs. Nevertheless, when limited job opportunity was considered, it was unlikely that this last factor would appreciably affect the estimate. It was assumed, therefore, that 313 out of the total of 391 adults in our 106 sample-families, or an average of 3.0 persons per family, were working members in 1952.

[162] Table 32 shows that the size of farm operating families in 1952 ranged from one to thirteen, averaging 5.7, the median being 6. Eighty-six of these 106 families, or 81 per cent, had a size between three and eight.

Training for Farm Work

243 462 Every adult in the village of both sexes is expected to be able to do farm work. This includes the ability to perform the following jobs.

Minimum standard: Every step of rice production except uprooting of rice seedlings which is performed only by adult males (for various steps of rice production, see the chapter on farm technology); digging and mounding; paddling and rowing; hauling except a heavy load like gas engines; tending the buffaloes and livestock; gardening; pounding of cargo rice for consumption during the work season; fishing by line-and-hook, dipping net, and trap; food preparation.

In addition to the minimum standard listed above for both male and female adults, male adults are expected to be able to perform the following jobs: Uprooting of rice

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 187]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

434 300 baht for clothing, 500 baht which they spent mostly
465 on a pilgrimage to the Temple of Buddha's Footprint, and
593 670 baht for two gold necklaces. That's a total of 1470 baht for the two of them. My wife alone took 1,100 baht received from the sale of the early variety, and I don't want to take the trouble to ask where the money went."

It has been observed that farm income varies greatly from farm to farm as well as from year to year. Farm household expense, on the other hand, has been observed to be less variable. Although the remunerations for farm operators and family workers are directly related to farm income, it would seem unwise to discuss farm income without bringing in first the discussion on farm technology and farm organization and management. We propose, therefore, to limit at the time being our discussion of the remunerations of farm operators and family workers to indicating their respective sources only. We shall have occasion to deal with their patterns and magnitudes in Chapter VII, which will be exclusively devoted to income and consumption of farm operators.

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• 178 The hired laborer receives his remuneration for the farm work in the form of annual wage which is paid by his employer, the farm operator, according to the provision of the oral contract made before each working season. It was found in 1948 that this annual wage was paid in either cash or kind, and in addition the laborer received free board and lodging and one or two working suits. Of 13 hired laborers covered by the 1948 survey, five were paid a cash wage

465 ranging from 250 baht to 800 baht annually, and eight were
• 178 paid in kind. There were two types of wages in kind, the fixed and the variable types. In the fixed type, which involved two laborers, each laborer was paid a fixed amount of 100 tang of paddy. In the variable type, which involved six laborers, one laborer received the product (paddy) from 3 rai specified at the beginning of the season, four received the product from 5 rai, and one from 6 rai.[3]

#128 In 1953, a farm hired laborer survey was made to
464 include people in Bangchan who were known to have been hired
178 laborers and who could be located at that time. The survey was intended to serve as a benchmark for a subsequent study of farm laborers in 1956-57. The work done in 1953 was therefore only preliminary and was concentrated in locating the hired laborers and recording such basic informations as age, sex, and their jobs and remunerations during the previous five years from 1949 to 1953. Materials on life history were also gathered, but they were still incomplete. Nevertheless, information thus received about their jobs and remunerations have shed much light on wage rates of hired laborers in the village, and these are shown in Table 33.

A few points must be made clear, however, before any generalization can be made from the figures in Table 33. First, the survey included 34 persons who were known to have been hired laborers in Bangchan during the period from 1949 to 1953. Second, the survey covered only the people who were living and could be located in Bangchan in 1953; thus

3. Sharp et al., op. cit., p. 157.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196]

TABLE 33

ANNUAL WAGES OF HIRED LABORERS IN BANGCHAN AND ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD
Thailand, 1949-53

Year	Type of Wages*	Number of Laborers Reporting	Total Wage	Range	Average
1949	Cash wage	2	1600 baht	600-1000 bt	800 bt
	Kind, fixed	3	300 tang	100-100 tg	100 tg
	Kind, variable	2	9 rai	4-5 rai	4.5 rai
1950	Cash wage	4	3350 baht	400-1350 bt	838 bt
	Kind, fixed	7	600 tang	60-100 tg	86 tg
	Kind, variable	3	12 rai	3-5 rai	4.0 rai
1951	Cash wage	6	4400 baht	300-1200 bt	733 bt
	Kind, fixed	8	660 tang	50-110 tg	83 tg
	Kind, variable	3	12 rai	3-5 rai	4.0 rai
1952	Cash wage	10	8400 baht	600-1300 bt	840 bt
	Kind, fixed	7	630 tang	50-120 tg	90 tg
	Kind, variable	3	13 rai	3-5 rai	4.3 rai
1953	Cash wage	14	12000 baht	250-1150 bt	857 bt
	Kind, fixed	2	250 tang	100-150 tg	125 tg
	Kind, variable	2	6 rai	3-3 rai	3 rai

*MCash wage -- wage was paid in cash.
Kind, fixed -- wage was paid in fixed amount of paddy agreed upon at the beginning of the season.
Kind, variable -- wage was paid in paddy harvested from a specified area agreed upon at the beginning of the season.
In all these cases, laborers received in addition free board and lodging and two working suits, one at the beginning of the period of breaking the soil and another at the beginning of the harvesting season.

*128
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178 some hired laborers who had left the village before the survey was started were not included, and so were some former hired laborers, especially those working as such in the earlier years, who might be living in the village but were not identified as former hired laborers. Third, of the 34 cases covered by the survey nine were persons of 20 years old or younger as of 1953. Naturally, these persons would not be considered as hired laborers in 1949 or even in 1950, for they would be too young then for the job. Besides, it was not necessary that all hired laborers should begin their job as soon as they had attained the proper age of say 18 years, for there were many factors militating against taking up the job at an early age, one of which was obligation to the family. As a matter of fact, two among our 34 laborers were obliged to quit their jobs because their parents wanted them to go back to the family and help in the farm work. One of these two laborers remained with the family for a yearin 1951, went back to work with his former employer in 1952, then emerged as a farm operator in 1953. The other quitted the job in 1952 and had since remained a family worker on the family's rented farm. Fourth, these 34 laborers varied in sex, age, farming experience,
464 and working ability. Fifth, the employers of these hired
466 laborers also varied in the degree of generosity exemplified by the amount of wage they agreed to give their employees and their relative willingness to observe the oral contract. This last point was important in Bangchan where the supply

464 for labor exceeded the demand for it. Some employers were
466 known to have been in the habit of cheating their employees. To cite an example, in March 1953 A, a young man of 16 who was known to be one of the best transplanters in the village, was hired by Operator B at 50 baht a month. After working for B for three months, A quit the job because his employer had paid him only his wage for the first month and there was indication that he would not receive any more for his labor from his employer. The author was informed about this whole business by A's father, Laborer C, who complained bitterly against B. That happened just before the beginning of the 1953 rice growing season. It was rather surprising that the author discovered that a month later Laborer C was hired by his son's former employer -- Operator B. Three months later, the author saw Laborer C working not on B's field but on some body else's farm on August 19. Upon inquiry, it was found that history had again repeated itself -- Operator B had just fired Laborer C and refused to pay him for his three months' work. "He ate more, but worked less, and always found asleep," complained Operator B, "Besides, he was in the habit of criticizing me behind my back."

*128 These five points were brought up in connection with
464 Table 33 in order to caution against two generalizations
• 178 that might be made from a glance at the table. First, the number of laborers which appears to increase progressively from 1949 does not in any way indicate that more and more hired laborers have been employed in Bangchan. The figures

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*128 464 • 178 of the number of hired laborers represent only the case study of hired laborers who were located in 1953 and were interviewed on their past records. Statistically, therefore, it would be misleading to infer the actual employment of hired laborers in each year from those figures. Second, since the same population of hired laborers was used throughout, the effect of increasing age on individual wages must be considered. This does not mean, however, that there was a tendency for the average wage in our sample to rise with the years in relation to the standard wage; because not all of the 34 hired laborers started to work in the same year, rather some started before 1949, some started in 1949, and a good many started in each of the following year. There was also the effect of the generosity of the employer which is to be considered in relation to the wage level.

It would appear, nevertheless, that employment of hired laborers in any specified year can be measured by actual counting or simple random study done in each specified year. Although this is possible now that we have fairly well established our universe, there is still the problem of the hired laborers quitting their jobs before the end of the rice season *128 464 465 which had occurred not infrequently. The problem of varying wage rates due to working ability of the laborer on the one hand and to the scrupulousness of the employer on the other may, however, be partially solved by using the maximum wage of each year as the basis for generalization. It is with such cautions that the figures as presented in Table 33 might

463 we finally settled on an arbitrary definition: a profes-
464 sional piece-worker was one who was ready most of the time to be called upon to perform piecework. This automatically eliminated the school children who were able to work only during the school recesses, the poor aged people who had to make a living in one form or another but who were able to perform only the lightest kind of piecework -- transplanting, and members of the well-to-do families who did some piecework for a small amount of pocket money only.

Adopting this arbitrary operational devinition, it may be assumed that professional pieceworkers include all members of the laboring families, small farm operating families, and other families of various occupations not financially well off, who are old enough yetnot too old to work and who are not currently engaged in some other kinds of work.

178 Table 34 shows work records of the 34 farm laborers
463 earlier mentioned. It is seen that of these 34 laborers,
465 only six had remained hired laborers throughout the periods of their farm work. These were Laborers 8, 9, 11, 22, 27, and 28. The other laborers were observed to have assumed various other statutes in the course of the five-year period from 1949 to 1953, namely, farm operator, pieceworker, family worker, and transient family worker. When these laborers were interviewed, they also gave estimates of their earnings from pieceworking as far as they could remember. In 1949, for example, piecework earning figures were available from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 203]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 34

WORK RECORDS OF 34 SELECTED FARM LABORERS IN BANGCHAN AND ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORHOOD Thailand, 1949-53

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Laborer Number	Age in 1953	Working Status 1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
1	23	HL	HL	FW	HL	FO
2	39	PW	PW	PW	HL	HL
3	42	...	...	PW	PW	HL
4	27	HL	HL	PW	PW	PW
5	28	HL	HL	PW	PW	PW
6	23	PW	PW	HL	HL	...
7	25	PW	...	HL	HL	HL
8	22	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL
9	23	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL
10	52	HL	HL	X	HL	HL
11	19	...	HL	HL	HL	HL
12	32	FO	FO	FO	FO	HL
13	33	PW	PW	PW	HL	HL
14	30	TFW	HL	HL	PW	PW
15	35	PW	HL	HL	HL	PW
16	20	...	TFW	TFW	HL	...
17	45	PW	PW	HL	PW	PW
18	50	PW	PW	HL	HL	HL
19	31	X	PW	HL	...	HL
20	20	TFW	TFW	TFW	FW	FW
21	19	TFW	TFW	HL	HL	HL
22	17	...	...	HL	HL	...
23	21	TFW	TFW	TFW	TFW	HL
24	23	TFW	HL	HL	...	HL
25	17	...	...	TFW	...	HL
26	40	...	...	TFW	TFW	HL
27	26	...	...	...	HL	HL
28	18	...	HL	HL	HL	HL
29	63	PW	PW	X	PW	HL
30	30	PW	X	X	PW	HL
31	36	HL	HL	HL	FW	FW
32	16	...	...	...	PW	HL
33	23	PW	HL	HL	HL	HL
34	20	...	HL	TFW	HL	HL

Key to abbreviations:
FO -- farm operator
HL -- hired laborer
PW -- pieceworker
FW -- family worker
TFW -- transient family worker
X -- farm laborer elsewhere
(...)-- not engaged in farm work

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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465 two laborers -- 1,000 baht for Laborer 7 and 900 baht for Laborer 30, averaging 950 baht for the year. In 1950, earnings of 500, 850, and 1,000 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 18, 19, and 29, averaging 783 baht for the year. In 1951, only one case of 600 baht earning was reported by Laborer 5. In 1952, earnings of 600, 1,000, 1,000, 1,000, and 350 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 5, 14, 29, 30, and 32, averaging 790 baht for the year. In 1953, earnings of 2,000, 600, 1,000, and 300 baht were reported respectively by Laborers 4, 5, 14, and 15, averaging 975 baht for the year.[4]

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464 In the preceding paragraph, the term "transient family worker" was introduced. This refers to a person distantly or not at all related to the family in question who has been accepted as a family member with a dual status of half relative and half laborer. Since there is actually no genuine family tie, such member has been observed to come in and go out of the family rather freely as the occasion [465] may arise, and hence the term "transient". While staying with the family, the transient member is expected to participate in the family work that is appropriate to him in exchange for good, shelter, clothing, and occasional monetary gifts.

In 1948, we came across a case where an old man of 80 was living with one of the seven headmen of Bangchan as

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4. Table 53 gives an idea of the meaning in real terms of these incomes.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

182 464 592 Nevertheless, the advantages of transient member arrangements to both parties should not be overlooked. It has at least provided the poor with a kind of economic security, since they might arrange to join some families in the village in time of crises. This is perhaps the principal reason why the village, not the living quarter, is considered by most Bangchan people to be their home. By sending some offspring to live with a more affluent family, the poor villagers had been able to reduce the size of their families and thus had managed to prevent their level of living from falling far below the minimum level of subsistence. As for the accepting families, it has already been shown that they had enjoyed the benefit of cheap labor provided by transient family workers.

*243 178 463 621 [592] Changes in Farming Population in Bangchan

Table 11 shows that the number of farm operators in Bangchan had decreased from 229 in 1949 to 216 in 1953, while the number of the family heads whose main incomes were derived from farm labor had increased from 27 to 38 within the same period.

When the farm operating families were studied individually, it was found that 181 families had been operating their rice farms in Bangchan throughout the period. There were 48 farm operators whose names disappeared from the list of operators in 1953. These were compensated by 35 new operators. Thus, there was a net loss of 13 farm operating families during the period from 1949 to 1953.

*243 16 • 178 463 Of the 48 families disappearing from the 1953 list of farm operators in the village, 21 moved out, 2 were annexed, and 25 were dropped from the list because they had changed their occupations to some other kinds. Among these last mentioned, four had become investors, three traders, thirteen laborers, one public servant, and four had obscure occupations.

Of the 35 new farm operating families, 17 were immigrants moving into the village during the period between 1949 and 1953, 14 had evolved from pre-existing families, and four were families already existing in the village in 1949 but were then having some occupations other than farm operating. Among the four families last mentioned, three were formerly farm laboring families, and one was formerly an investor family.

*243 178 463 The fact that there were as many as twenty-five families leaving farm operating occupation as against only four families entering it within the same period seemed to indicate that farm operation as an occupation had become less attractive in Bangchan during recent years.

It may be argued that former farm operators who had given up farming did so because of the force of special circumstances beyond their control, and that the change to other occupations was not due to the relative unattractiveness of farm operation. A tenant operator, for example, might have to leave the farm because his landlord no longer wanted him to work on the parcel. In fact one such case was

[427]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243 • 178 463 [427] reported where the tenant had to leave the farm in the beginning of 1953 and had since become a hired laborer. This was Laborer 12 shown in Table 34. In most cases of farm operators who had become farm laborers, however, they were marginal operators working on areas too small to provide decent incomes. It was found that the total working area in 1948 of thirteen farm operators who had become farm laborers was 94 rai, averaging only 7 rai per farm. It is possible to speculate, then, that low farm income was a major factor in the occupational shift among these thirteen families. To the extent that this speculation is acceptable, it may be inferred that the shift to the farm laboring profession among these thirteen cases was voluntary rather than a result of special circumstances beyond their control.

The relative unattractiveness of farm operation stands out clearly when the cases where former farm operators taking up new occupations other than farm laboring were considered. As mentioned earlier, there were twelve of these of which four had become investors, three traders, one a public servant, and four had obscure occupations. Among those having obscure occupations, two were families of old people apparently without any income, one family head was allegedly engaged in no occupation except gambling if this could be considered an occupation at all, and one family head -- the sole member of a one-man household -- was also a person of no known occupation. For obvious reason, these four cases should be left out of consideration, leaving only those who had

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243 • 178 463 [311] become investors, traders, and public servant. In 1948, these eight families were operating farms of a combined area of 286 rai, ranging from 20 rai to 80 rai, averaging 36 rai per farm. Seven of these eight families owned rice fields totalling 201 rai, ranging from 5 rai to 80 rai, averaging 29 rai per family owning land. Evidently, it may be said that these seven families deliberately had given up farming in favor of new occupations from which they expected higher remunerations. As for the one family owning no land, the same generalization still holds. This family was operating a 22-rai farm in 1948, a farm of optimum size which could be expected to yield a higher income than any of those operated by the thirteen former [464] operators who had turned farm laborers. The head of this [465] family, nevertheless, got a permanent job in the Bangkok Harbor, a government owned concern, with a salary of more than 7,000 baht annually which is much higher than his former net income from operating a rented farm.

A case has thus been built for the relative unattractiveness of farm operating occupation among a certain sector of farm operators who had shifted to other occupations. This was responsible for the decline of farm operating occupation from 80 per cent of the occupational structure of the village in 1949 to 72 per cent in 1953 (Table 11). If it had not been for the 14 new families branching out from existing families who had taken up farming during the period between 1949 and 1953, the decline would have been more abrupt.

*128
*243 annual depreciation of the equipment in question. In cases
435 where the equipment still had some market values at the end of their servicable lives, these residual values were first deducted from the original costs before they were divided by the length of service. The most complicated cases were those of chala and mard boats and the noria, which involved annual maintenance and minor repair as well as periodical major repair in say every four or five years before they were finally and totally worn out at the end of their rather long services of from twenty to fifty years. In each of these cases, all items of such expenses -- annual maintenance and minor repairs as well as periodical major repairs -- were added to the original cost and the total was divided by the entire length of service in order to arrive at the annual depreciation figure.

*243 With few exceptions, all farm equipment enumerated
178 above have been used by Thai farmers for centuries. Thus, since the establishment of the village there has been no change in the use of such basic agricultural tools as the plow, harrow, hoe, weeding knife and sickle. Moreover, it may be said also that there have been only slight modifications, if any at all, in these equipment during the long course of their usage. The plow, harrow, or sickle which is now being used in Bangchan is perhaps of the same type and appearance as would have been seen centuries ago.

*243 Standing in contrast to these basic agricultural tools,
177 the first known propeller windmill in Thailand, according to
178 testimonies by Bangchan informants, was invented by Nai Yong
402

243 177 178 402

Manichaem of KY8 in 1940. An official report to the Director of the Department of Agriculture in 1940,[2] however, gives the credit to Nai San of Lard Buakhao, Minburi, who lived only four miles to the south of Manichaem's home. The buying up of gasoline engines by the Japanese during the occupation period served to facilitate the spread of this device. Gasoline engines probably came to the village about 1930 or slightly later. In 1948, there were five engines owned by Bangchan residents. Because of the exceptionally good water condition of that year, these engines were not used in rice production. They were not, therefore, included in our calculation of the cost of producing paddy in 1948. It was observed that their use was limited to fishing by the draining method. The winnowing machine, which utilizes a hand-operated fan arrangement, is relatively new. It is rather expensive, costing an average of 498 baht. Only 21 out of the 104 farmers in our 1948-sample could afford to own it, the rest being obliged to use the traditional winnowing method of simply tossing the grains into the air by wooden spatula and letting the wind carry away the chaffs.

According to historical improvement, farm equipment may thus be categorized as follow:

A. Old simple tools without any modification:

Shovel, spade, hoe, plow, harrow, roller, yoke, weeding knife, sickle, boat, pitchfork, rake, broom, wooden spatula, basket, mat bin, box bin.

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2. Submitted by Yingsakdi Israsena and Kamol Janlekha.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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B. Old equipment with slight modifications:

Noria (larger ones are now used because they are more adapted to windmills than smaller ones to which human energy was applied in the old days).

C. Recently employed equipment, mostly labor saving devices:

Gasoline engine, first used in Bangchan in 1930 or slightly later.
Winnowing machine, relatively new, date of introduction into the village not certain.
Propeller windmill, allegedly invented in the village, first used in 1940.

On the whole, it may be said that very few improvements have been made in farm equipment. For this, two opposing explanations may be advanced: (1) Little attention has been paid in the past to farm equipment, resulting in continual using of primitive implements which are inefficient and could be improved if enough attention and effort along the line were given; (2) These basic farm equipment are functionally efficient although they may be simple in form -- the fact that there has been no structurally change in the past few hundred years means that they have successfully stood the test of time rather than that the effort to improve these equipment has been lacking.

The author reserves his judgment on the validity of either of these two explanations, for scientific study of rice farm equipment in Thailand on which proper judgment may be based is not known to him.

Draft Animals

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In Bangchan, as in most of the rice producing areas of the country, only one kind of draft animal is used -- the buffalo. This subject has already been dealt with in the

*243 would detach themselves from the ground and be seen afloat on the surface water. To remedy this, the farmer usually inspecte his newly transplanted parcel and simply pressed the floating seedlings back into the ground. Sometimes, transplanting was poorly done or the seedlings were roughly handled during uproot ing, resulting in "dead stands." These dead stands could not be distinguished from the live ones in the first few days after transplanting, for both would appear greenish yellow in color. In four days after transplanting, however, the root system of the live rice plant resumed its normal function and most stands assumed their true green color. The dead stands could then be easily detected for they remained greenish yellow. These dead stands were removed and new seedlings were transplanted in their places.

Weeding was another care given to the rice plants. Again, it was difficult to apportion the time spent on each of these separate activities -- pressing the floating seedlings back into their original position on the ground, replacement of the dead stand stands with the live seedlings, and weeding -- for at certain periods (within a few days after transplanting) they were all done in the same trip and almost concurrently.

[476] Weeding was also done cooperatively, although recently cooperative weeding has become less popular and involved only [592] few families. It may be said, therefore, that care of the [178] plants as of 1953-54 was largely a family undertaking. Our records show that care of the plants in our sense of the term [476] started on July 24 and ended on September 29. Of this, the [592]

243 433 461 423 labor cost. Most farmers must go by foot or boat to work at places ranging from a hundred meters to two kilometers from home. This waste is the more serious during the period of preparation of the fields at the beginning of the season when the water level in the canals is not high enough to permit the effective use of a boat.

243 178 423 Table 40 shows the frequency distribution of areas worked by Bangchan operators in 1948 and 1952. It is seen that in both years work areas concentrate in the size groups between 10 to 40 rai, averaging 34.2 rai for 1948 and 31.7 rai for 1952. It is seen also that the work areas of 1948 have a wider range than that of 1952. There were 30 farms in 1948 whose areas were 40 rai and over, while the number of such farms was 28 in 1952.

Table 41 shows that of 96 continuing farms, 20 have increased their size during the five years period, 40 have decreased their size, while 35 farms have the same size throughout.

243 433 46 2. Labor: This element represents 51 per cent of the total cost of producing paddy (Table 38). Of this, only a small fraction is actually paid for -- 3.3 per cent to hired laborers and 3.4 per cent to pieceworkers. The bulk of labor is supplied by family workers (including the operator himself) whose labor value is assessed at 44.6 per cent of the total cost of producing paddy.

It is seen in Table 42 that the number of adjusted rai per worker is only 9.4 for farms which used only family

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 40

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AREAS WORKED BY 96 OPERATORS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948 and 1952

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Class in Rai	Number of Farms 1948	1952
110 to under 120	1	0
100 to under 110	0	0
90 to under 100	1	0
80 to under 90	4	2
70 to under 80	3	3
60 to under 70	5	7
50 to under 60	6	7
40 to under 50	10	9
30 to under 40	18	22
20 to under 30	22	19
10 to under 20	16	18
Under 10	10	9
Total	96	96
Mean	34.2 rai for 1948 31.7 rai for 1952	
Median	30.3 rai for 1948 31.1 rai for 1952	

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 41

CHANGES IN AREAS WORKED BY 96 OPERATORS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948-52

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Description of Farms	Number of Farms
Same size*	35
Increased size	20
Decreased size	41
Total	96

* To take care for reporting errors and errors due to confusion over planted areas and harvested areas, a margin of 2 rai is allowed. Hence, farms reporting size changes of two rai and under are considered to have no change in size.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

Writing
*243 on economic change in Thailand since 1850, Ingram points
17 out that soon after the Bowring Treaty (1854) the popula-
43 tion of Thailand tended to specialize more and more in the production of one major crop (rice) and a small number of other primary products, selling these products for money, and using the money to buy various articles of consumption. "Money thus came to play an increasingly important role in an economy in which it had formerly been of but minor significance. When Western traders were freed by the Bowring Treaty to put such products as cheap cotton prints on the Thai market, the people bought these products and, if they could not buy they sought a source of money income. Money could most easily be acquired by producing some commodity for the export market. As villages and households turned to the production of money crops, and as they began to purchase bright-colored garments from the traders, the household crafts declined. Cotton fields were perhaps used for rice or abandoned in favor of land suitable for rice. With the money income earned through the export market, the farmer bought the goods he had formerly made for himself."[9] The
*243 money economy had brought along its inevitable companion --
• 178 credit, which had become accentuated by the fact that Thai
426 rice farmers received their principal incomes only once a
43 year. There has been a tendency to trace the perpetuation of farm indebtedness to farm poverty which is in turn traced to low productivity in underdeveloped areas. While this is

9. Ingram, op. cit., p. 36.

*243 • 178 426 43 perfectly true especially among the under-sized farms in Bangchan, there is still to be explained why more affluent farm operators are also continually in debt. It has been observed that when people come into contact with superior goods or superior patterns of consumption, with new articles or new ways of meeting old wants, they are apt to feel after a while a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction. Their knowledge is extended, their imagination stimulated; new desires are aroused, the propensity to consume is shifted upward. This principle according to which individual consumption functions are interrelated was propounded by Duesenberry, who calls it the "demonstration effect."[10] When the list of new items of consumption is checked, it appears that this principle of demonstration effect has demonstrated itself very clearly in Bangchan.

426 432 *[128] Table 63 shows that in the majority of cases credit purchases bear an interest of 50 per cent per season, ranging from 0 to 67 per cent. Information from sources other than our sample farm operators reveals that two methods of interest charging were practiced by Bangchan storekeepers and peddlers. One method was to charge 40 per cent interest on credit purchasesmade during March - May, 30 per cent during June - the first half of November, and no interest on purchases made in the second half of November and after; all these rates were charged on the assumption that accounts would

10. This is about the receipt from 8.4 rai in 1953.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 352]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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464 The lean time from the middle of February to the end of May is devoted by some villagers, mostly young men, to wage earning outside the village. The size of this temporary labor migration depends on the job opportunities, and these job opportunities depend largely on personal contact. Seasonal off farm jobs are: (a) crude carpentry work usually on nonpermanent construction where cheap temporary labor is preferred; and (b) plantation work in the sugar cane region of Cholburi some eighty miles east of Bangkok.

Inherent Excess of Expenses over Incomes

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426 The prevalence of debts in the form of credit purchases among Bangchan farmers indicates an excess of expenses over incomes. It has been shown that most cash loans were sought to clear high interest bearing credit purchase accounts, although some were for productive purposes. Even in this latter case, it has been observed that farmers usually borrowed no more than an amount that was immediately needed together with cash on hand to pay for the capital investment. This means that after such capital purchases there was less cash for the household and operating expenses, and so there would be a higher credit account to be settled in the following harvest.

Low incomes coupled with relatively high expenses leave little or no room for internal savings.

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433 The situation is aggravated by an increasing rate of consumption relative to the ability to produce. While

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production method and farm organization remained the same throughout, there had arisen in the course of the past four or five years new items of consumption including wrist watches, fountain pens, hair do, Coco-cola, invitation cards, admission to Miss Thailand contest, etc., which demonstrate the operation of the principle of demonstration effect par excellence. It is not difficult to see, then, that any chance increase in cash incomes due to favorable weather and economic conditions tends to be absorbed in consumption.

While consumption correspondingly expands with an increase in income, it does not decline with a contraction of income -- at least not in the same proportion. This is the principal reason for farm poverty in rice growing areas where only a single-crop system is practiced and where fluctuation of crop yield is a normal phenomenon.

As a result, the excess of expenses over incomes
[426] tends to persist. High rates of interest also have made this excess greater and greater among those who fail to make proper adjustment in their credit situation. Thus, the less affluent farmers are not only poor but are actually getting poorer and poorer.

Population Pressure

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While low incomes and inherent excess of expenses over incomes are basic problems of Bangchan, discussions in the early chapters reveals that there are some factors contributing to the acuteness of the basic problems. One

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434 among these contributing factors is population pressure.

Disguised unemployment in the case of farm operators
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161 and their family workers and actual unemployment in case of
434 farm laborers indicates a condition of over-population in
464 Bangchan in the sense that a certain part of its population can be removed without materially reducing total production in the area.

178 In view of a continually decreasing supply of fish,
226 it may be said that the situation has reached the point where
433 it not only affects the per capita income of Bangchan resi-
262 dents but actually exerts pressure on means of subsistence. There are several indications of decreasing supply of fish and other marine animals in the village. First, it is the consensus of opinion gathered by our daily informal talk with villagers non of whom was found to hold a contrary view. Second, a passage in our 1948 log, "X is very lazy. Everybody here in Bangchan catches shrimps and makes his own shrimp paste. He alone does not catch shrimps even though he is among the poorest," indicates that purchase of shrimp paste was in 1948 an exception rather than a rule. In 1952, however, it was found that a total of 22.7 kilograms of shrimp paste consumed in a year by an average family, 6 kilograms, or more than a quarter, was purchased. In this latter year, 83 baht worth of fish and 54 baht of fish sauce were purchased by an average family in addition to shrimp paste as against negligible amounts for the same items in 1948 (we did not conduct a systematic consumption

178 226 433 [262] survey in 1948, the "negligible amounts" comes from daily talk with Bangchan residents). Third, several informants testified that the amount of fish caught from the same pool by the draining method had been decreasing each year. One of these gave the following comparative figures for fish caught from the same pool on April 8 - 10, 1953 and on approximately the same time of the year in 1952 as follows:

Kind of Fish	Number Caught in 1953	Number Caught in 1952
Pla Salid	400	800
Pla Salad	100	200
Pla Kasong	50	120
Pla Chado	6	15
Pla Krai	1	--
Pla Doog	50	50
Pla Mor	20	25
Pla Chorn	150	300
Large turtle	5	3
Small turtle	7	3
Eel	5	5

Others also gave the 1953 figures, but could not itemize the 1952 figures; they only said that they "got much more than this year."

226 654 There had been until 1952 no positive program for fish conservation; only negative measures have been taken, such as the Ministry of Agriculture's ordinance against fishing by certain methods at certain times of the year. In 1952, however, the Government began an extensive program of introducing a new variety of fish, Pla Mor Thed, into rural areas of Thailand. This new variety has been claimed to grow faster than the native varieties. While this program cannot as yet be appraised, a point of observation may be

*243 161 • 178 464 Finally, it has been pointed out that the kind of training and the type of financial preparation given to young married couples have served only to confirm Bangchan people to their preference for rice cultivation. This together with limited job opportunities open to them elsewhere have tended to keep the villagers on the farms, and thus have tended to regenerate the condition of population pressure in Bangchan.

Lack of Effective Control and Regulationof Water Supply

*243 458 Another contributing factor is the lack of effective control and regulation of water supply, which has caused annual fluctuation of rice crop. On the whole, this crop fluctuation is not as high as is the case in most of rice [731] growing areas elsewhere. Famine certainly has not been known in Bangchan. Nevertheless, it is a certain sector of rice growers -- the marginal farmers with limited ability to adjust or with relatively little command over capital -- who are seriously affected by annual fluctuation of rice crop.

*243 426 When affluent farmers have a poor crop, their credit purchase accounts may go up beyond the normal level, but they are usually in a position to clear this type of high interest bearing debts at the end of the business year by their net cash incomes or at least by securing loans with lower rates of interest to pay the accounts. On the other hand, marginal farmers are not in a position to seek low interest bearing loans. In case of crop failure, therefore,